

# HIGHROADS OF HISTORY

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**Signing the National Covenant.**

*(From the picture by W. Hole, R.S.A., in the Municipal Buildings, Edinburgh.  
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[According to a common tradition, the National Covenant was signed by many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh in Greyfriars' Churchyard.]

THE ROYAL SCHOOL SERIES

# Highroads of History

Book XI.

## Highroads of Scottish History

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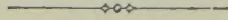
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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THIS little book is intended to supply an outline of the History of Scotland suitable for candidates for the Leaving Certificate and University Preliminary Examinations. It aims at presenting, without undue attention to detail, a record of the great facts and tendencies of the national history, and at arousing interest sufficient to persuade the reader to turn to some of the books which are from time to time suggested as illustrating the subject—chiefly the writings of Sir Walter Scott. It is intended that this book be read along with a textbook of British History, and for this reason no attempt has been made to deal with British as distinguished from purely Scottish history, or with the history of England.

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# HIGHROADS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY.

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## Chapter I.

### EARLY SCOTLAND.

IN his beautiful fairy tale, "Puck of Pook's Hill," Mr. Rudyard Kipling represents a Roman soldier, born more than fourteen hundred years before our own day, as appearing to a modern child and telling him about the defence of the Great Wall. "Is it just *a* wall," asks the boy, "like the one round the kitchen garden?" and he receives the reply, "No, no; it is *the* wall! Along the top are towers with guard-houses, and small towers between. Even on the narrowest part of it three men with shields can walk abreast from guard-house to guard-house." The soldier goes on to tell how the Great Wall ran from sea to sea: "On one side heather, and on the other a vast town, long like a snake . . . basking beside a warm wall."



On the Great Wall.

## 8 HIGHROADS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY.

The great Roman wall ran across our island from Newcastle to Carlisle, and with it begins the written history of Scotland.

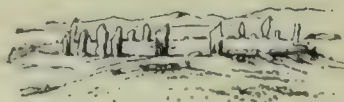
There is a history which we call “unwritten”—that is to say, it is not written with any pen or pencil. Unwritten history may be the work of no mortal hand: geologists are able to tell us something of the history of the earth before mankind lived upon it, and to “trace the hand-writing of God” upon the rocks; or again, unwritten history may be the history found in earth-mounds and cairns:—



“Gray, recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,  
Standing stones on the vacant wine-red moor.”

The “silent, vanished” races have left us their tombstones or their altars, and they themselves “are perished as though they had never been.” No man knows their history; none even knows what manner of men they were.

Other things besides earthworks and stones tell us a little about these unknown men and women. We pick up sometimes the weapons that they used in warfare, or the articles that they used in daily life. Before me, as I write, are two pieces of flint—one rudely cut in the shape of a knife, and



the other sharply cut to form an arrow head. They were both picked up on the surface of the ground near Old Meldrum, in Aberdeenshire, and they are like many others which have been found elsewhere, and which may be seen in museums. These weapons vary in character ; some are made of stone, some of flint, and others of metal.

The roughest stone implements belong to a very early age, and the men who used them have been called Palæolithic or "Old Stone" men. They lived on our island when it was not an island at all, but part of the continent of Europe, and when its climate all the year round was as cold as it now is on a cold winter's day.

The more carefully made stone or flint instruments are believed to have been the work of the Neolithic or "New Stone" men, who lived after our country had become an island, and when its climate was no longer marked by the intense cold which prevailed in the days of the Old Stone men. Gradually the New Stone men, or their successors, learned to make pottery, and then to use metals, and to forge the weapons which they used in hunting. They lived on the animals they hunted, and on herbs and berries and



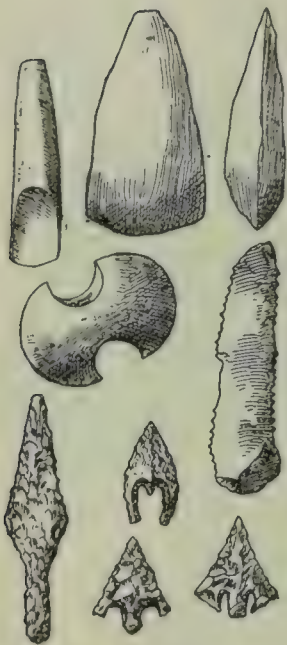
*"Old Stone" Implements.*





fish. We know some few things like these about this race, and we know little more.

From the fact that they buried arrow heads and battle-axes with their dead we can infer that they believed in a future life in much the same way as savages do to-day—



"New Stone" Implements.

"Even the black Australian, dying, dreams he shall return a white."

But we know almost nothing about their religion.

We cannot even tell how many races have inhabited the country we call Scotland. Invaders after invaders may have come and settled in it, and been conquered in their turn. The soil on which we tread every day may have been the scene of a great battle which changed for the time the fate of the country:—

"Dead the warrior, dead his glory, dead the cause for which he died."

History of this kind offers very few facts to be learned, and we need not linger over the things that we do not know. There is a long story to tell, and we must go back to our starting-point at the Roman wall.

Who were the men against whom the Romans built this wall, in order to defend their province of



**Building the Great Wall.**

*(From a design for a fresco by William Bell Scott, H. R. S. A.)*

South Britain? We must not call them Scots, for there were as yet no Scots on this side of the Irish Channel, and it is very difficult to know what to call them. The Romans sometimes spoke of them as Picts and sometimes as Caledonians, and one of the problems of our early history is whether the Picts and the Caledonians were one people or two



*Roman soldiers.*

separate races. It is a question about which learned men fought bitterly in the eighteenth century; and Sir Walter Scott, in "The Antiquary," gives us an amusing account of one of these disputes, in which he refers to a long list of imaginary Pictish kings. The controversy still goes on, but it need not concern us, and we shall be content to speak of the inhabitants of the country to the north of the Great Wall as Caledonians.

The Romans had landed in the south of this island as early as the year 55 before the birth of our Lord. Their great leader, Julius Cæsar, did not attempt to subdue the Britons, and it was not till the year 43 of the Christian era that the real conquest began. By the year 80 the Romans had conquered the whole of the country south of Yorkshire, and it was formed into a Roman province. Roman roads were made—some of which still remain—and Roman cities were built. Some



English towns bear to this day the names given them by the Romans, and in various parts of England we can still see remains of Roman houses and Roman baths. The security of the Roman province was disturbed by the attacks of the wild tribes in the north, and the great Roman general Agricola undertook the task of punishing them. Between the years 82 and 86 he made several campaigns on what is now Scottish soil, and his armies marched far be-

yond the Forth. He defeated the Caledonians in a great battle at a place which the Romans called Mons Graupius. Where is Mons Graupius? This is another of the questions about which learned

men have debated so fiercely as to render their squabbles ridiculous. There is not, in fact, sufficient evidence to make any argument worth while; and in the novel we have mentioned, "The Antiquary," Sir Walter Scott shows how easy it is to find reasons for identifying almost any spot in some parts of Scotland with the scene of the battle of Mons Graupius. It is not necessary for us to learn any of these conjectures; for our purpose it is much more important, to



*Roman Pavement found in England.*



Procession of Druids.—(From the picture by R. Hope.)

remember that Agricola also built a chain of forts between the Forth and the Clyde.

Why did he choose to defend the country between the Forth and the Clyde, instead of that between the Solway Firth and the Tyne—a line much nearer the Roman province of South Britain? If we can understand this, we shall learn something very important for a proper understanding of early Scottish history. Agricola was a great general, and he recognized that the line from the Forth to the Clyde is the best strategic line of division between North and South Britain—that is to say, it is the easiest line to defend. The actual boundary between England and Scotland follows the Solway Firth, the Cheviot Hills, and the river Tweed; and, from the standpoint of geography, this is probably the natural line

of division. But if you take a map of Scotland, and ask yourself where an English general would prefer to defend his country against a series of attacks from the north, you will understand what is meant by the best strategic line. You must





remember that we are thinking only of land forces, and not of a fleet. A single glance will show you that it would be much easier to build forts and maintain defensive forces between Dumbarton and Grangemouth than between Solway Moss and Berwick-on-Tweed. Scotland is shaped like a wasp, and the narrow district between the Clyde and the Forth is the waist of the wasp. The most important strategic position in Scotland is Stirling, which commands the best road

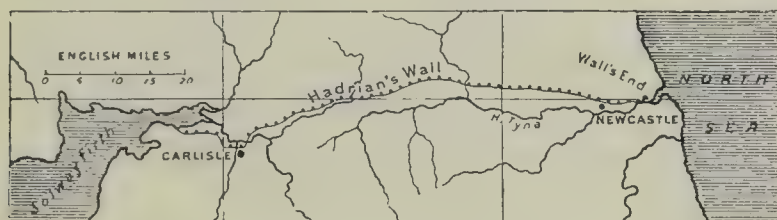


LINE OF AGRICOLA'S FORTS AND ANTONINE'S WALL.

through what we have called the waist of the country. We shall have occasion to refer to this subject later on. Meanwhile, the thing best worth remembering about Agricola is that he recognized the importance of the country between the Clyde and the Forth, and that he attempted to take advantage of the geography of the country, and to divide the island into North and South Britain along this line.

Agricola was recalled to Rome, and the Romans

continued their work without him. They made a great Roman town at York, and they colonized the country which is now the north of England. They held Agricola's line of forts, but we do not know how far they established themselves in the district between the Tyne and the Forth. Certainly they did not inhabit that part of the country as they inhabited the region south of it, which they made really a Roman land, and, after some forty years, the Emperor Hadrian (120 A.D.) decided



LINE OF HADRIAN'S WALL.

to abandon the northern part of the province. It was he who built the great wall between the Solway and the Tyne, of which Kipling's story tells. But Hadrian's Wall proved an insufficient protection to South Britain, and about twenty years later the Romans went back to the policy of Agricola. A great earthen wall was built (about 140 A.D.) between the Forth and the Clyde, and was named Antonine's Wall after the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Portions of this rampart are still to be seen near Falkirk.

Attacks upon the Roman province still went on, and Rome was gradually becoming too weak to hold her own in North Britain. She could not spare her best soldiers for this frontier work, and her worst soldiers, drawn from all parts of Europe, were not to be trusted. The Emperor



PART OF HADRIAN'S WALL AS IT NOW IS.

Severus made an expedition into Caledonia (208 A.D.) and punished its warlike tribes, but when he returned to York, where he soon died, the old attacks recommenced. At least once again the Roman power made itself felt in Caledonia; but the time was now near when the Roman eagles were to leave Britain for ever.



Owing to the dangers now pressing upon Rome itself, and the intrigues of rival generals who wished to seize the throne, the Roman legions were removed from Britain, and at last, in the year 410, the Britons were left to themselves.

The Romans had conquered England, but they had not conquered Scotland. Our great roads are not Roman roads ; no Scottish town can be said to derive its existence from a Roman settlement, or to bear a name given by the Romans. Yet we must not conclude that the Romans exerted no influence upon Scotland. The long warfare waged against them taught the tribes of Caledonia to combine and act together. The example of order and discipline, the lesson of obedience, the knowledge of what civilization could do, were not lost upon the people of Caledonia.

The people of South Britain regarded the withdrawal of the Romans with horror.

“When the Romans left us, and their law  
Relaxed its hold upon us, and the ways  
Were filled with rapine,”

there came, according to a beautiful legend, a great British king, Arthur, who for a time saved the people from

“the godless hosts  
Of heathen swarming o’er the Northern Sea.”



"THE GODLESS HOSTS OF HEATHEN." (P. 21.)  
(From a picture by H. Koekkoek.)

These “godless hosts of heathen” were the Angles and the Saxons and the Jutes, who soon began to invade South Britain. They came as whole peoples, not as mere bands of pirates to rob and ravage and then return home. They settled down on the land of the South Britons, and made it the “Land of the Angles,” or England. They brought with them from Germany their own manners and customs and their old heathen religion. They killed great numbers of the Britons; they made many of them household slaves, and they drove others into North Britain, into Wales, and into Cornwall. In time they became a Christian people, and afterwards they became a united people—the English nation. This was the history of South Britain after the departure of the Romans.

What, now, of North Britain? Once again we have come to the most certain of all the facts of history—the simple fact that no man knows. For more than a hundred years after the Romans ceased to defend the Great Wall we are entirely ignorant of what happened behind it. Towards the end of the sixth century we find something to tell, and what that is we shall see in the next chapter.



A GATEWAY IN THE GREAT WALL.



## Chapter II.

### THE PEOPLES OF SCOTLAND.

WE have spoken hitherto of the people of North Britain as Caledonians, but from very early times we find a division into two peoples, whom we may call Picts and Britons. The Britons belonged to the same race as the inhabitants of South Britain, who had been conquered by the Romans, and whose descendants now occupy Wales. For the last two hundred years it has been customary to speak of the ancient Britons as Celts, but we must distinguish between Brythonic or British Celts and Goidelic or Gaelic-speaking Celts. The Britons, or British Celts, held the portion of Scotland known as Strathclyde—the south-west part of the country; the Gaelic Celts held almost the whole of Scotland to the north of the Forth, and their kingdom was known as Pictland. There is, as we have seen, a very difficult question about the Picts. Were they a Gaelic-speaking people, or were they a different race, who had been conquered by the Gaelic-

(1649)



*A Pictish Warrior.*



**Caractacus, a British chief, a prisoner in Rome.**

*(From the picture by G. F. Watts, R.A.)*

speaking Celts? It is impossible to answer the question; and it is sufficient to remember that at the end of the sixth century—that is to say, about the time when St. Augustine was preaching in England—the Britons occupied the south-west of what is now Scotland, and that the Gaelic-speaking Celts held almost the whole of the north. We have said “almost” the whole. Speaking more precisely, and with as much accuracy as we can now reach, we may say that the Gaels held all the country north of Forth and Clyde, except the modern county of Argyll.

You will notice that we have not said anything about the south-east corner of Scotland, and so there are two questions that remain for us to answer. Who lived in what is now Argyllshire, and who lived in what are now the counties of Midlothian, East Lothian, Berwick, and Roxburgh? We shall first answer the question about Argyllshire. About a hundred years after the Romans left

Britain, a colony of invaders from Ireland settled in this part of the country. They were Gaelic-speaking Celts, of the same blood as the men who lived in Pictland, and they were called Scots. We must now answer the second question which we have already put: while the Britons occupied the south-west, the Scots Argyllshire, and the Gaels the rest of North Britain, who lived in the south-

(1,649)





east? Other tribes of invaders entered that part of the country about the same time as the Scots invaded the west. They were Angles, of the same race as the people who conquered the north-east



THE ANCIENT KINGDOMS OF NORTH BRITAIN.

of England. They formed a kingdom which stretched from the Tees to the Forth, and their kindred founded another kingdom from the Tees to the Humber.

Is all this very confusing? Let us think of North Britain as it was about the year 600 A.D. —we cannot, as yet, call it Scotland, because that name could only apply to the Scottish kingdom on the west coast, which was then known by the name of Dalriada. We must not think of North Britain as ending where the borders of England and Scotland now are, because the Angles extended far beyond the Tweed to the Tees, and even to the Humber, and because the Britons extended all along the west coast of the island, through Cumberland to Wales, and on to the Bristol Channel. North of the Forth and Clyde, then, we have Dalriada and Pictland, both inhabited by Gaelic-speaking Celts; south of these rivers we have the Britons and the Angles, both of whom extended far beyond the Solway Firth and the Tweed. To how much of this should we apply the name “North Britain” in the year 600? Surely it would be natural to draw our line where Agricola drew his, and to say that North Britain was the land of the Gaels, the country to the north of Forth and Clyde. If we can imagine a man thirteen hundred years ago trying to foretell how this island would be divided into kingdoms in the time to come, we should think of him as making a prophecy something like this: The Scots in Dalriada and their brother Gaels in Pict-

land will unite to form a Pictish or Scottish or Gaelic kingdom of North Britain ; the Britons in Strathclyde will unite with their brethren in Cumbria and Wales to form a kingdom of West Britain ; and the Angles in the south-east will unite with their kindred, and will become part of England.

Our prophet would be wrong—almost as wrong as he could possibly be. Why, then, should we trouble to consider his wrong suggestions ? Because in this way we shall most easily see what really happened. We must explain how it came about that the Scots gave their name to the whole of the country north of the Solway and the Tweed, and why the Britons and the Angles separated from their own kindred and joined the Scots and the Gaels to form the kingdom of Scotland. All this took a very long time to happen, and the following chapters will be occupied in explaining just how it did happen. It is not quite so interesting as some other parts of our story, and it took place so very long ago that it is very difficult to picture it. But if we are to learn anything about the history of our country, we must begin by trying to understand what Scotland is and how it came to be. Meanwhile, we must be quite sure that we remember clearly the four great peoples and where they lived—the Scots, the Gaels, the Britons, and the Angles. There was indeed a fifth, which we ought





ST. COLUMBA PREACHING TO THE PICTS.—(*From the picture by W. Hole, R.S.A.*)

also to mention. In the extreme south-west—the modern counties of Wigtown and Kirkcudbright—there lived a people known as the Picts of Galloway. There is nothing to learn about them, however, for we do not know who they were, or how they were connected with the old Picts in the north; but once in our story we shall have occasion to speak of them, and it is useful to mention their existence now.

How, then, did Scot and Gael and Briton and Angle and Pict come to unite and form the Scotland that we know? For one part of our answer we must go to the little island of Iona. When the great English man of letters, Samuel Johnson, visited Iona, he wrote of it as “that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion;” and he went on to say, “That man is little to be envied whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.” What is it that makes the name of Iona dear and memorable to every Scotsman? The answer is the name of one man, St. Columba, the apostle who brought the Christian faith to our country. Before the Romans left, there had been some Christian teaching, and on the shores of Wigtown Bay St. Ninian had built a church,

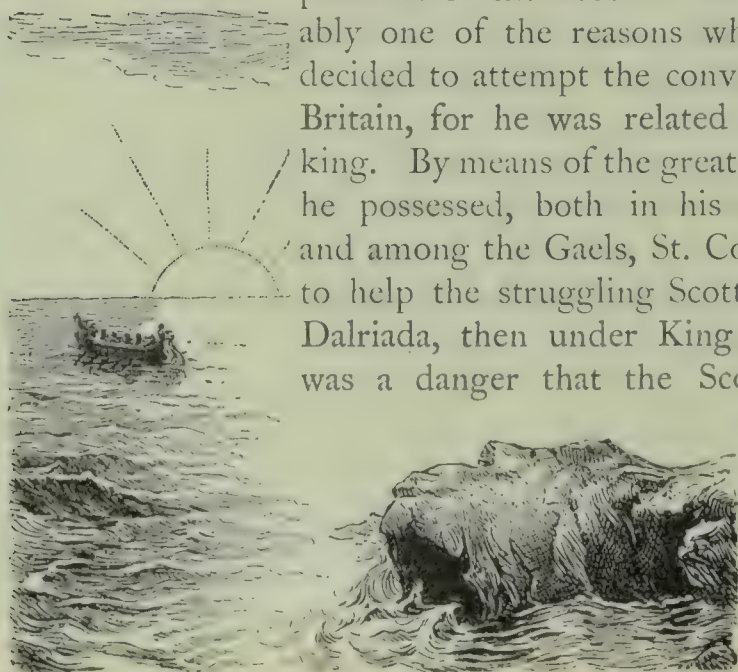


the first Christian Church in our land ; but with the fall of the Roman dominion all Christian influence ceased, until the Scots brought with them from Ireland to Dalriada some knowledge of the gospel. It was also from Ireland—"the Isle of Saints"—that there came, in the year 563, the great missionary Columba. The date ought to be remembered by every Scottish boy or girl ; it has been called the beginning of Scottish history.

St. Columba brought with him twelve disciples, and they settled on the island of Iona, from which Columba made missionary journeys to convert the Gaels of Pictland. He was successful in his labours, and before he died the Gaels of Pictland had become a Christian people, living in friendship with their old enemies, the Christian Scots. The

presence of the Scots in Dalriada was probably one of the reasons why St. Columba decided to attempt the conversion of North Britain, for he was related to the Scottish king. By means of the great influence which he possessed, both in his old Irish home and among the Gaels, St. Columba was able to help the struggling Scottish kingdom of Dalriada, then under King Aidan. There was a danger that the Scots of Dalriada

might become subject to the





Gaels of Pictland or to the High King of Ireland, and St. Columba saved them from both. But the work thus done by St. Columba for the Scots is a small thing compared with his evangelization of the Gaels of Pictland, which makes his name one of the two or three greatest names in all our history.

Soon after St. Columba began his work the Britons of Strathclyde were also converted to Christianity, by the labours of a missionary known both as St. Mungo and as St. Kentigern. We know nothing of himself or of his work ; but the name of the cathedral at Glasgow bears



*Iona Cathedral.*

witness to the light that he brought to them who sat in darkness. His work was not so complete as that of St. Columba, and Christianity had less influence among the Britons than among the Gaels.

The Angles in the south-east were later in receiving the Christian faith. Early in the seventh century they were converted by disciples of St. Augustine, the apostle of England ; but there came a powerful English heathen king who



*Glasgow Cathedral.*

restored the old gods for about twenty years. The second conversion of the Angles was the work of the followers of St. Columba, who introduced his teaching into the south-east of Scotland and the north-east of England.

Here we must take notice of a fact which was important for both Scottish and English history: the teaching of St.

Columba was not quite the same as that of St. Augustine, who came direct from Rome. There was very little real difference between Irish and Roman Christianity, and such differences as did exist were not connected with the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. The distinction was one of method and organization; it lay rather in the way of doing things than in the things themselves. Two of the points on which the Roman Church differed from the Irish or Celtic Church were the dates of keeping Easter and the exact shape of the tonsure or method of cutting the hair, which was the distinctive mark of a clerk or clergyman.

The Roman missionaries were completely under the control of the Roman Church, and owed ab-

solite obedience to the Pope. They appealed to the Pope for instruction how to settle all kinds of difficulties, great and small; they followed the general rules laid down for conducting the services of the church in the Latin tongue, and not in the language of the country where they worked. The Irish or Celtic missionaries received no direct instructions from the Pope. They founded monasteries, and the head of the monastery was the bishop who ruled the surrounding district.

The south of England, through the teaching of St. Augustine and his successors, had adopted the Roman form of Christianity, and the time came when the north of England had to choose between the two systems. The King of Northumbria decided in favour of the Roman missionaries. The Angles in the south-east of Scotland accepted this decision, and adopted the Roman ways in preference to those of the disciples of St. Columba, and their Gaelic neighbours were to some extent influenced by them.

About 710 a king of the Gaels of Pictland, called Nectan, became anxious as to whether he and his people were doing right in following the old Irish customs in these matters, and he took advice upon the subject. The result was that he



*Roman Missionaries.*

ordered all his people to adopt the Roman customs; and after a few years this was done, not only in Pictland, but among the Scots of Dalriada, and even in Iona itself, though not in Strathclyde. But this does not mean that the people of Dalriada and of Pictland became part of the Roman Church in the same way as the people of England had done. In England a great Archbishop of Canterbury, called Theodore, arranged the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical institutions on the model of the system which the Roman Church had established on the continent of Europe. King Nectan did not introduce into his country the system of church government on which the Roman Church insisted. Only among the Angles of the south-east was the church really part of the great Roman Church, and consequently this part of the country came into closest touch with the civilization of England and of the continent of Europe. The time of the complete victory of the Roman Church in the country north of the Forth was as yet far distant.



*Celtic Cross,  
Iona.*



## Chapter III.

### THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND.

THE partial victory of the Roman ideas in church matters had important results outside the church. Those ideas had been accepted in Northumbria, the Anglian kingdom, where a united people now occupied the district between the Forth and the Humber. At one time it seemed as if the Angles were to establish their power over the Gaels of Pictland, and the Northumbrian kings were very ambitious of doing so. But the Gaels were determined not to submit, and, some years before Nectan brought in the changes of which we have spoken, they had won their freedom in a single great battle. In the year 685, Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, had led a great army into Pictland, and was defeated and killed at a place called Nectansmere, probably in the modern county of Forfar. There are only two battles before Bannockburn which it is very important to remember, and Nectansmere (685) is one of the two. The defeat of the Angles at Nectansmere



*Columban Monk.*

made it certain that they were not the people who were to unite Briton and Scot and Gael, and to form the kingdom of North Britain. Soon after this time they were attacked by one of the other English kingdoms, and they lost their power in England also.

There remained the Scots of Dalriada, the Gaels of Pictland, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the Picts of Galloway. Which of these peoples was to become supreme in North Britain? The answer to this question is a long story, and a difficult one; and we must be content with knowing merely the result of more than a hundred years of warfare—years whose cruel record is preserved only in dim outline. There are very few names and very few facts which it is necessary to remember.

In the middle of the eighth century there was a great King of Pictland, named Angus MacFergus, who subdued Dalriada and, with the help of the Angles, defeated the Britons of Strathclyde. He was succeeded by his son, Constantin I., in whose days the Scandinavians, or Northmen, first began to make settlements in North Britain. The coming of the Northmen is very important, and we will say something about it in the end of this chapter; but meanwhile we must not interrupt our story.



*Viking Ship.*

After the death of Constantin I. (820) there is a period of twenty-four years of which we do not know the history, and then we come to a date worth remembering—the year 844. In that year the Scots of Dalriada and the Gaels of Pictland became one people, ruled by one king. How this came about we do not know ; and it is somewhat surprising, because the king of the smaller kingdom of Dalriada succeeded to the throne of Pictland, just as, centuries later, a Scottish king succeeded to the throne of England. The royal families of Dalriada and Pictland were connected by blood, and the king of the Scots claimed the crown of Pictland. The two nations were of the same Gaelic blood, they spoke the same language, and they held the same faith. Both were threatened by the same enemies—the Northmen, the Angles, and the people of Strathclyde—and so the larger nation wisely consented to accept the king of the smaller nation as the heir to their throne. The king of the Scots who became the first king of Dalriada and Pictland was Kenneth MacAlpin, and from his time we can speak of the country north of the Forth as the kingdom of Scotland.

Kenneth MacAlpin attempted to add to his kingdom the district occupied by the Angles ; this district we may now call Lothian, the name by which it is usually known. Lothian in this sense



means the modern counties of Edinburgh or Midlothian, Haddington or East Lothian, Berwick, and Roxburgh. Kenneth invaded Lothian several times, but was not able to subdue it; and after his death (860) the attacks of the Northmen and internal quarrels prevented the Scots from extending their power, either in Lothian or in Strathclyde. But about forty years after the death of Kenneth MacAlpin a brother of the King of Scotland became King of Strathclyde (908), thus preparing the way for a more complete union.

While these things were happening in Scotland, the English had been engaged in their first great struggle with the Danes, from whose power they were saved by two notable kings, Alfred the Great and Edward the Elder. Edward's son Athelstan attempted to make his power felt in Scotland, and the Scots united with the Britons of Strathclyde, and with some Danes who had settled in Northumbria, to oppose the English king. In 937 Athelstan defeated them at the battle of Brunanburh, and an English poet wrote in triumph of the great fight and of the great slaughter, and how Constantin, the "hoary man of war," the king of the Scottish folk (Constantin III., 900-942), fled from the field on which lay the dead body of his son.

Seven years later another son of Constantin, who succeeded as Malcolm I., made a treaty with

Edmund, King of England, who gave to him a portion of the land of the Britons (944). Was this Strathclyde, or was it the region of Cumbria, which now forms part of England? There has been a dispute about this point, but there is no evidence that King Edmund had ever entered Strathclyde; and Scottish historians are agreed that Malcolm undertook to keep in order the Britons of Cumbria, and to prevent them from annoying the English king. We shall see later on why this question came to be an important one. It had very little importance at the time, for Malcolm could not keep the Britons quiet, and in three years' time he himself was at war with the English.

Gradually the Scottish power began to extend over the Angles of Lothian. About the year 960 the Scots took possession of Dunedin, or Edinburgh, and the country round it, and within about sixty years the whole of Lothian passed under the rule of the King of Scotland. An English chronicler who lived long after the time asserted that Lothian was given to the Scots by an English king, and that the Scottish king agreed to hold it as a vassal of the King of England. There is no authority for this statement. We know how the Scots came to possess Lothian, and the story can be told in a sentence. In the year 1018 Mal-

colm II., King of the Scots, in alliance with his relation Owen, the King of Strathclyde, defeated the English Earl of Northumbria, and seized his lands as far south as the Tweed. The battle through which Lothian became part of Scotland was fought at Carham in 1018, and this is the second of the two battles before Bannockburn which it is very important to remember. The Scottish victory at Carham decided that the Angles of Lothian were to be part, not of the kingdom of England, but of the kingdom of Scotland. Only Strathclyde now remained separate, and in the same year as the battle of Carham Owen of Strathclyde died, and was succeeded by Malcolm's grandson Duncan, the "gentle Duncan" of Shakespeare's "Macbeth." In 1034 Duncan became king of the whole of Scotland.

We have now seen why some of the things which might have been foretold by a sixth-century prophet did not actually happen. The Scots of Dalriada and the Gaels of Pictland did indeed unite to form a kingdom, but the kingdom of North Britain was not to be limited to the territory of Dalriada and Pictland. The Angles of Lothian did not continue to be part of the English district of Northumbria, but were conquered by the Scots. The Britons of Strathclyde did not unite with the Britons of Wales, but

came under the same king as the Scots and the Angles of Lothian.

English chroniclers, as we have seen, asserted that Strathclyde and Lothian were given to the Scots by English kings, to be held in subjection to the crown of England, and we have noted that there is no authority for either of these assertions. The English chroniclers also said that English kings from time to time claimed authority over the old kingdom of Scotland north of the Forth, and that Scottish kings admitted their claim and acknowledged the kings of England as their overlords.

The authority for these assertions consists of statements in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," a record of events kept by Englishmen. In each case in which a writer of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" makes a remark of this kind, he also says something which leads us to doubt whether he knew what he was talking about. The best example of this is a passage in which the chronicler says that the King of Scots in the year 926 admitted that the English king was his "father and lord;" and he adds that at the same time the King of Scots gave up idolatry. Now we know that the Scots had been Christians for hundreds of years, and this assertion does not increase our trust in the chronicler's words. The simple fact is that Englishmen liked saying that the



English king was really overlord of the whole island. They have liked to say it ever since, and we have never had any authority for it except their word. Things do not become true merely because they are often said, and we Scottish people have never believed these statements. It is, however, important to remember that the English claimed from a very early period to be overlords of Lothian, of Strathclyde, and of the country of the Scots north of the Forth. When we come to the great war of independence, we shall understand why it is worth while to remember these strange claims.



In telling how the Scots and Gaels and Britons and Angles came to form one kingdom of Scotland, we have passed over a very important aspect of the history of the time between the days of Angus MacFergus and the accession of Duncan I.—that is to say, a period which includes the whole of the ninth and tenth centuries. We have omitted the story of the settlements of the Northmen, and to that we must now turn.

We shall not try to tell here of all the invasions which the country suffered, for they are so many that a recital of them would only confuse us. We will be content with knowing whence the invaders came and where they settled. The

Northmen who came to Scotland were not Danes, as the invaders of England were in the time of Alfred. They were, for the most part, Scandinavians or Norwegians, akin to the Danes in race, and possessing the same love of adventure, the same courage on the sea, the same hospitality, and also the same cruelty. Wherever they went, they wasted the land and massacred its inhabitants, and they settled down in such numbers that they seriously altered the character of the population of Scotland. They made their settlements almost all along the south, west, and north coasts—among the Picts of Galloway, among the Gaels of the Hebrides and of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. Orkney and Shetland became entirely Scandinavian, and had at this period no connection with Scotland, except that they sent forth from time to time hordes of Northmen to ravage its coasts. Caithness and Sutherland were long under Norse rule. We can trace Norse settlements as far south as the Moray Firth, but they did not greatly influence the population of Banffshire or of Aberdeenshire. A thick line round the Scottish coast from the Mull of Cantire to Burghead would roughly represent the Norse settlements on the mainland.



*The Norse Settlements.*

It must not be supposed that the Northmen were satisfied with these settlements on the coasts and the islands. They were in the habit of making incursions by sea and by land into other parts of Scotland ; and the Scottish kings, in addition to all their other troubles, had to meet these terrible foes on many a battlefield. In several districts there still linger local traditions of these old battles, and the plough occasionally turns up the skull of one who died fighting for his country against the Viking invaders a thousand years ago.

One of the famous stories of Scottish history is that of the battle of Luncarty, near Perth, fought in the end of the tenth century, about thirty years before the battle of Carham. The story of Luncarty is told by an old historian who does not possess a high reputation for truthfulness—Hector Boece, the first Principal of the Uni-

versity of Aberdeen. Boece assures us that at Luncarty the Scots were defeated by the Northmen, and were flying from the field when they met a farmer called Hay, with his two sons, ploughing with some oxen. Horrified at the sight of the flying army, the Hays reproved their fellow-countrymen for their cowardice, and themselves led the Scottish army back to the field, though they had no arms except the yokes of their ploughs.



The enemy were taken by surprise, and the Scots won a complete victory. The story may not be true, but it is none the less interesting ; and the family of Hay still has, as the supporters of its coat of arms, two ploughmen bearing the yokes of a plough on their shoulders.

It will be seen from all that we have said that although Duncan became king of all Scotland in 1034, the country was very far from being united. In the north, the Northmen were in possession ; in the south-west, the inhabitants of Galloway and Strathclyde were practically independent ; in the south-east, the people of Lothian were to a large extent a foreign population. There can be no doubt that the Lothians were more English than Scottish, though it is not probable that the Angles had displaced the original inhabitants as completely as they did south of the Tweed. The royal authority was not properly recognized or obeyed anywhere in the kingdom, and a great work lay before her future kings if Scotland was ever to become a prosperous and united land.



## Chapter IV.

### SAXON AND NORMAN.

THE King Duncan who became king of the whole of Scotland—at all events in name—in 1034 is the most famous of all our early Scottish kings. His fame does not arise from anything that he did, for his reign was short and troubled, and he died a violent death at the hands of a rival. The six years during which he was king were occupied in unsuccessful attempts to defeat the Northmen, who held their ground in the far north, and even gained fresh territory. It was doubtful if Duncan was the proper heir to the throne, and he was troubled by other claimants, the most important of whom was

Macbeth, Mormaer or Earl of Moray. Macbeth had no claim on his own account, but he asserted his right to the throne as representing his wife, who was a member of the royal family. After being defeated by the Northmen in 1040, Duncan was killed by Macbeth near Elgin; we do not know whether he was murdered or killed in a skirmish.



*King Duncan.*



LADY MAC-  
BETH AS  
PLAYED  
BY A  
GREAT  
ACTRESS,  
MISS  
ELLEN  
TERRY.

*(From a  
painting  
by J. S.  
Sargent,  
R.A., in  
the Tate  
Gallery,  
London.)*

Why, then, is this Duncan so famous? We all know, for we have all heard of "Macbeth," the play in which Shakespeare tells how the good old Duncan, after a long and happy reign, and after having won a great victory, was treacherously murdered by Macbeth. Shakespeare's Macbeth had previously been a good and loyal subject, but his ambition was roused by hearing some witches prophesy that he was to be king, and he was persuaded by his wife to take the life of the kind sovereign, who was sleeping in his house as his guest. After this evil deed Macbeth's character (in the play) entirely changed for the worse, and he committed crime after crime, until in Scotland—



*Macbeth.*

"Each new morn  
New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows  
Strike heaven on the face."

After a short time, Duncan's son Malcolm, with the help of the English, marched to Scotland against the usurping tyrant. The witches had prophesied to Macbeth that he could not be killed unless some seemingly impossible things should happen, one of which was that Birnam Wood should come to Dunsinane Castle, where Macbeth lived. But as Malcolm's army passed through





**A Norse Invasion.**

*(From a picture by W. Bell Scott, II.R.S.A.)*



Birnam, on their way to Dunsinane, they were told to cut down the boughs of the trees and each man to carry one, so that Macbeth might not be able to discover their numbers. To Macbeth it seemed as if Birnam Wood were itself marching against him, and so the prophecy was fulfilled. Similarly, the other things that had seemed impossible actually happened, and Malcolm defeated and killed Macbeth.

These are the two stories of Duncan and Macbeth—the historian's way of telling it, and the poet's way. One narrative is dull and scarcely worthy to be remembered, because so many things of just the same kind have happened so often, both before and afterwards, in Scotland and elsewhere. The other narrative has interested and thrilled generation after generation ever since Shakespeare's genius gave life to the dry bones, and the story of Macbeth has become a unique event in human history, with nothing like it among all the things that men have written down. I have tried to tell you the poet's story, but you will never know it until you read it for yourselves. It is not entirely the work of Shakespeare's imagination, for another poet had already altered the bare facts almost beyond recognition. That poet was Hector Boece, the Scottish historian of whom we have already spoken, and

who told many stories worth knowing, if not always worth believing. Shakespeare, at all events, was glad to know what Boece had to tell about Duncan and Macbeth.

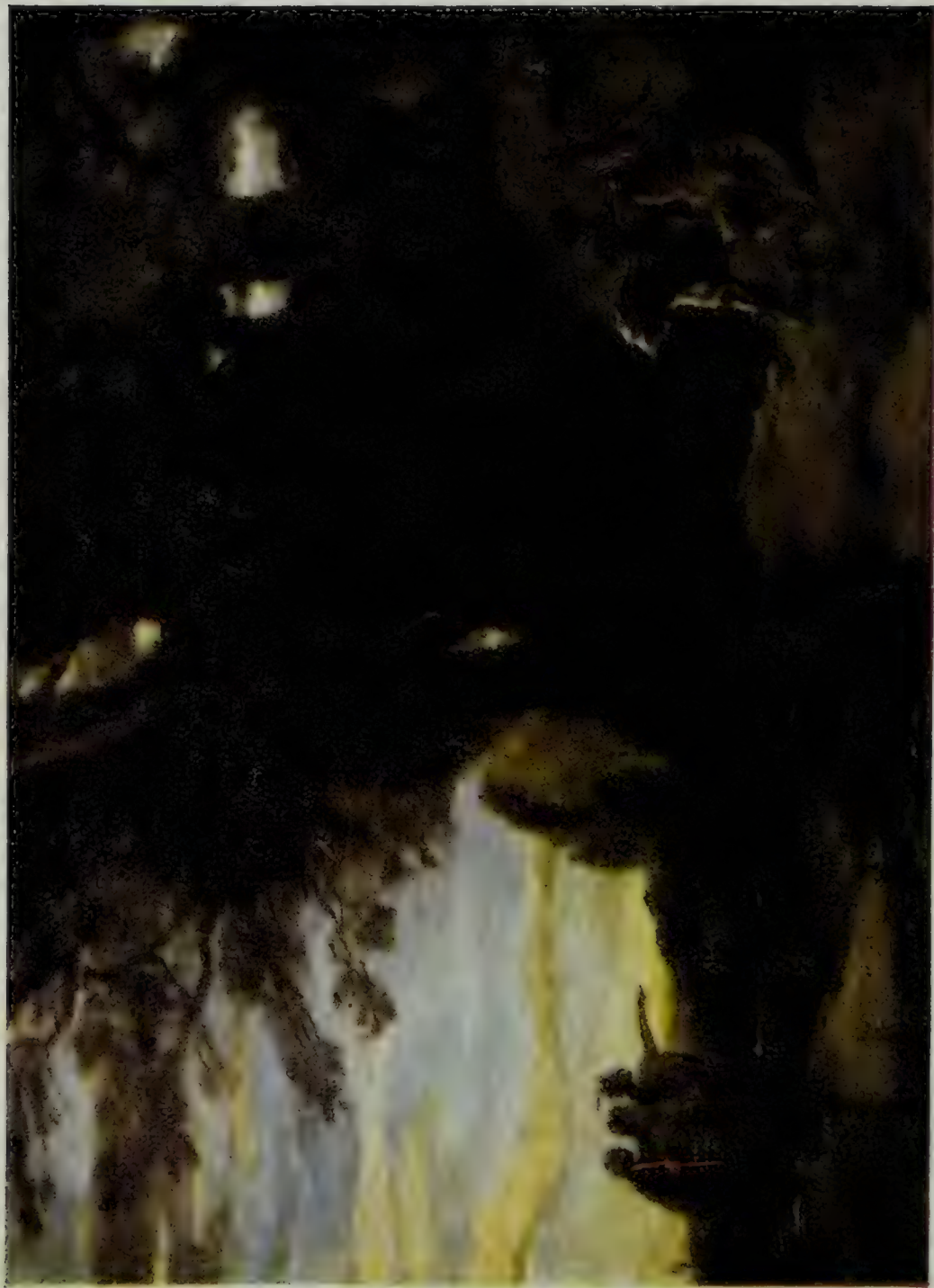
We must now tell the end of the Macbeth of history. He was no cruel tyrant; he reigned for seventeen years in peace and happiness, and we know of some gifts which he gave to the church. In 1054 the English tried in vain to dethrone him; but three years later he was defeated and slain by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire.

This Malcolm is better known as Malcolm Canmore—or Malcolm of the Big Head—and his reign (1057–1093) is one of the most important in Scottish history; yet there are no great battles to remember. He frequently invaded Eng-

land, and he tried hard to keep hold of Cumberland, which he claimed as part of his kingdom of Strathclyde, and of Northumberland, which he claimed as part of Lothian. He was a very passionate man, and very cruel in his anger; and his attacks on England were fierce and pitiless. But he gained



"Blinham Wood marching against him."



Macbeth and the Witches.

(from the picture loaned in the Wallace Collection, London.)

nothing by this cruel warfare, for the English king, William the Conqueror, invaded Scotland in return, and marched as far north as Abernethy, in Perthshire. The English chroniclers say that on this occasion the Scottish king again acknowledged the King of England as his overlord. It was more important, from Malcolm's point of view, that William built, at Newcastle on the Tyne, a great fortress to defend England against the Scots; and the next English king, William II., built another great castle at Carlisle. Finally, Malcolm was killed in 1093, in one of his invasions of England.

Why, then, is his reign so important? The answer is found in the story of his marriage. In his youth Malcolm Canmore had been an exile at the court of an Anglo-Saxon king, while Macbeth reigned in Scotland. Now a Norman conqueror sat on the throne of England, and a Saxon princess, Margaret, fled to the court of Scotland. Malcolm, who was a widower, fell in love with the princess and married her, and from that day there began a great change in Scotland. Margaret loved the English ways of her old home; and Malcolm did not find these ways strange, for he had known them in his boyhood. She loved her own English tongue, and she loved



*Malcolm Canmore.*



the rules which the church observed in England. So the court of the Scottish king became a centre of English influence ; the old ways and customs of the Gaels were discouraged. The church in Scotland was forced by the queen's influence to give up all the little differences which marked it off from other branches of the church, and it soon lost whatever independence it had retained from the days of St. Columba. The Papacy became, for the first time, an important influence in the affairs of Scotland, and the Scottish Church became a faithful and obedient daughter of Rome. Queen Margaret's high personal character and the reverence paid to her, after her death, as a saint increased the influence she possessed as the wife of King Malcolm, and her work was helped on by other influences besides that of the court.

She had not come alone to Scotland : others of her nation came with her, and more followed her ; and these English refugees, representing a higher civilization and a wider culture than that of Scotland, soon exercised a great influence upon the Scots.

It is from the time of Malcolm Canmore that we trace the gradual decay of Gaelic speech in the Lowlands of Scotland. The priests encouraged the people to speak English, as the queen desired. By degrees there grew up a commerce with



*Papal Crown.*

England, which made it necessary for the inhabitants of the towns to speak English. We must not imagine that there was anything like an English invasion; but the court, the church, and the necessities of commerce alike led the Scots of the Lowlands, and more particularly the inhabitants of the towns on the east coast, from Inverness to Edinburgh, to adopt the English speech and the English customs which had long prevailed in Lothian. All this was, of course, deeply resented by the Scots beyond the Forth, as we shall see from the trouble it brought.

For some years after the death of Malcolm Canmore the kingdom was disturbed by civil war between the English party and the Gaelic party. Finally, the English party proved victorious, and three sons of Malcolm and Margaret reigned in succession—Edgar (1097–1107), Alexander (1107–1124), and David (1124–1153). There is one important thing to remember about Edgar: after an invasion by the Norsemen he came to an agreement with the King of Norway by which he gave up to the Norsemen all the islands on the west coast. The result of this arrangement was that for more than a hundred years Scotland was free from Norse invasions. When Edgar died, the country was divided between his two brothers; Alexander ruled north of the Forth, and David south



*Queen Margaret.*

of the Forth. But when Alexander died, in 1124, David became the ruler of the whole of Scotland.

Both David and Alexander continued the work of their mother, Queen Margaret, in making Scotland as like England as possible. Even among the Scots beyond the Forth, Alexander introduced English ways, and he set himself to destroy completely the old Celtic arrangements of the church, making two Englishmen in succession bishops of St. Andrews. Under his rule and that of David, Scotland was divided into bishoprics, just as England had been for centuries past, and the new Scottish bishops had full powers over the clergy. The Archbishop of York and the Archbishop of Canterbury both claimed powers over the church in Scotland, and there was a long dispute about this; but in the end the Pope decided that Scotland was directly under the Roman See, and that the Scottish Church owed no obedience to any English authority.

King David, in his efforts to change the customs of Scotland, went far beyond his mother and his brother. His sister was married to Henry I. of England, a son of William the Conqueror, and after this event there came to Scotland a large number of Normans, or Anglo-Normans—that is to say, Normans who had been given land in



*Norman Bishop.*

England by the Conqueror. The Normans were a bold and adventurous race, and they had gained possessions for themselves all over Europe. Sometimes they won their possessions by hard fighting, but sometimes they received them from kings and princes to whose courts they went, and who liked them for their courage and cleverness, and for a charm which they seem to have possessed. It was in this latter way that the Normans came to exercise so great an influence in Scotland.

King David felt the fascination of the young, handsome, and brave Normans who came to his court. The Saxon ways which had been fashionable in the time of his mother now came to be regarded as out of date, and it became usual to do as the Normans did. The king gave to his Norman friends large gifts of land in various parts of Scotland, and they settled down on these lands and built castles. Many great names in Scottish history—such as the Bruces and the Fitzalans (afterwards the Royal Stewarts)—are the names of Norman favourites of David I.; and, after a great rebellion in Moray, David divided up that province among Anglo-Norman nobles, chiefly from the north of England. These great Norman nobles brought with them bands of



*Norman Knights.*



Norman servants and dependants. Their lands were given on condition that when the king wanted soldiers the barons should provide them, and so they gathered round them bands of fighting men or retainers. The retainers generally took the name of their chief, and this custom came to be followed also by the old inhabitants who became the tenants of the new Norman lords. The king gave the lords great power—often powers of life and death—over the tenants on their lands.

These new ideas about the power of the great lords, and about their obligations to provide the king with soldiers, were not confined to the new Norman nobility, for in the south and east of Scotland the great men among the Scots found it to their advantage to adopt the new methods, and they were encouraged by the king to do so. Hence there came to be a new distinction between the Highlands and the Lowlands. Not only did the Lowlanders adopt the English speech, and English and Norman ways of living, but they accepted the Anglo-Norman way of holding land. The inhabitants of the Highlands were now beginning to live in the great clans of which we hear so much in later times. A clan consisted of a group of people of the same blood, and they looked upon the chief as their common father ; often

there were many divisions in a clan, each of which held some of the land of the clan. In the Lowlands we find nothing of this sort. A great noble held a great estate, and all the inhabitants round were his tenants or dependants. Often they took his name: thus part of the country was full of people of the name of Douglas, or Gordon, or Forbes. But the Douglasses who held land from the Earl of Douglas, or the Gordons who held land from the Earl of Huntly, held it on condition of performing certain definite services, or of paying a fixed amount of money to their lords; while the Macleods shared the land with their chief as his kinsmen, and almost as his children. There are no clans in the Lowlands, only families.

All this is a little difficult to understand; but it is essential for us to realize that a really great difference was growing up between the Scottish Lowlanders and the Scottish Highlanders—a difference which can be traced in all their institutions and in almost every detail of their daily life. This difference grew wider and wider, and about two hundred years after the death of David I. we find Scottish writers remarking on the great difference, and telling how David taught “quiet and chastened manners” to the “rough and boorish” Lowland Scots, but how the High-



land Scots remain "savage and untamed." They believed Highlanders and Lowlanders to be one nation, but they said, "Those of us who live on the borders of England have forsaken our own tongues and learned English, being driven thereto by wars and commerce; but the Highlanders remain just as they were in the time of Malcolm Canmore, in whose days we began to adopt English manners." Sometimes the Lowland writers are kinder to their Highland brethren, for we find one of them saying: "Foreign nations look on the Gaelic-speaking Scots as wild barbarians, because they maintain the customs and the language of their ancestors; but we call them Highlanders." By far the most important thing to remember about the reigns of Malcolm Canmore and David I. is that they brought about this great difference, through which in course of time the people in the counties of Linlithgow, Clackmannan, Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, and in parts of Stirling, Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Morayshire became more and more like the people of Lothian. Gradually the same changes were made in the south-west of Scotland also, but more slowly than in the districts we have mentioned.

(1,649)

*Highlander.*



## Chapter V.

### SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

WE have not yet finished the story of David I., for we must learn something about his attempts to increase the power of Scotland south of the Tweed. He wished to make Cumberland part of his kingdom; and through his wife, an Englishwoman, he claimed Northumbria, which had belonged to her grandfather. Through his wife also he claimed the earldom of Huntingdon, which she inherited from her father. As Earl of Huntingdon he was undoubtedly a vassal of the English king, and this fact adds another difficulty to the vexed question of the English homage. When David did homage to the King of England, was he acting as King of Scotland or as Earl of Huntingdon? David himself might believe that he was doing homage for the earldom alone, but the English king might imagine that it was for the kingdom of Scotland.

At the beginning of his reign David was at peace with England, and he continued to be so while his brother-in-law Henry I. lived. Henry

left his throne to his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V.; but it was seized by her cousin Stephen, and during a large portion of Stephen's reign there was civil war in England. This, of course, was David's opportunity. He invaded England to support his niece, and was defeated at the battle of the Standard, fought near Northallerton in August 1138. David had a very powerful army, and ought to have beaten the force which Stephen's supporters raised in the north of England. The cause of his defeat was the jealousy between the Scots and David's new Norman nobles, mail-clad knights whom he intended to place in the front ranks. The men from Galloway and from beyond the Forth objected to this, and assured David that his Highlanders, with no coats of mail and no weapons save the sword and the targe, would fight better than "these Frenchmen," as they called the new nobility. So the Picts of Galloway were placed in the van of the army. They were brave and loyal, but they failed to scatter the English. The Norman knights, under Prince Henry, the eldest son of King David, were more successful; but after defeating the left wing of the English, they began to plunder, and left the rest of the Scottish army to look after themselves. The Scots were jealous



*The English Standards at  
Northallerton.*

of the new Norman nobles, and the Norman nobles despised the Scots, and did not care what happened to them, and thus the battle was lost.



CHARGE OF THE KNIGHTS AT NORTHALLERTON.

It did not matter much. Stephen had so many other enemies that he was glad to make peace with David, and David was quite willing to desert the cause of his niece if he could obtain good terms

for himself. Stephen admitted David's claim to be Earl of Northumberland, and the Scottish border-line was moved southward from the Tweed to the Tees. After this David broke faith with Stephen, and helped the Empress Matilda and her son. He kept his English possessions till his death, in 1153, when he was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV., son of the Prince Henry who had fought at the battle of the Standard.

In our last chapter we spoke of the great changes made in Scotland by David I., and we have now seen one bad effect of these changes. But in spite of this David's rule was firm and wise. He made good laws, and was strong enough to enforce them. He encouraged commerce and agriculture. Scottish towns grew in importance and in wealth during his reign, and began to make laws for themselves, in order to render the lives of their inhabitants safe and peaceful. The church was firmly governed by the new bishops whom he placed over his new dioceses of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin, and he insisted on the payment of tithes for the support of the clergy. He gave much land to the church, and the monks who received it were good landlords and good farmers. He encouraged the building of great and beautiful churches and monasteries, and so made Scotland a more civilized and cultured country.



The reign of David's successor, Malcolm IV. (1153-1165), was short and troubled. He had to face a great rebellion in the north, and a still more serious rebellion in Galloway, and the Norsemen who had settled in Argyll and the Isles made war upon him. He succeeded in suppressing the rebels, though with great difficulty; but he was unable to withstand the great English king, Henry II., who had succeeded Stephen, and the English seized the land between the Tees and the Tweed. From this date the border-line between England and Scotland became permanently fixed as it is to-day.



*The Scottish Lion.*

Malcolm IV. was succeeded by his brother, William the Lion, whose reign is memorable in two ways. In the first place, he had to deal time after time with rebellions, and Scotland was rarely at peace during his long reign (1165-1214). The Picts of Galloway rebelled more than once, and in the north William had to face a rival, who claimed his throne. He succeeded in defeating him, and he also subdued the Norsemen in Caithness. In the second place, William was foolish enough to aid some English rebels against King Henry II., and when he invaded England he was taken prisoner. He was not captured in any great battle, but was surprised by an English army



ABBEYS FOUNDED BY DAVID I.

1. JEDBURGH. 2. MELROSE. 3. DRYBURGH. 4. CAMBUSKENNETH. 5. KELSO. 6. HOLYROOD.

*Falaise Castle.*

while he was amusing himself by tilting near the castle of Alnwick (1174). Henry II. released him after a short imprisonment, but on very hard conditions. William had to acknowledge that the kingdom of Scotland was subject to the kingdom of England, and that Henry was his overlord, to whom he was bound to do homage and service. This agreement is known as the Treaty of Falaise, because it was made at the castle of Falaise in Normandy, where Henry had taken his prisoner. It was no mere verbal acknowledgment, for Henry insisted upon his rights, and for fifteen years Scotland was a vassal kingdom of England.

How did Scotland escape from the shame of the Treaty of Falaise? For an answer to this question we must go far beyond this island, for Scotland was saved by events that happened thousands of miles away. A hundred years before the days of William the Lion, the Turks had captured Jerusalem, and taken possession of the places in the Holy Land which were sacred to the followers of Christ. The Turks were bigoted followers of the prophet Mohammed, and hated all Christians. It had long been customary for Christians to make pilgrimages to our Lord's tomb, but the

*Crusader.*



Turks would not permit this, and they persecuted all Christians who came within their power. The church stirred up Christian soldiers from all parts of Europe to fight for Jerusalem, and to save it from the infidel. The expeditions which went forth to accomplish this are known as the Crusades, from the Latin word for the Cross, which was the badge of these armies. Men from all countries of Europe met and fought as soldiers of the Cross, and they captured Jerusalem, and made it a Christian kingdom.

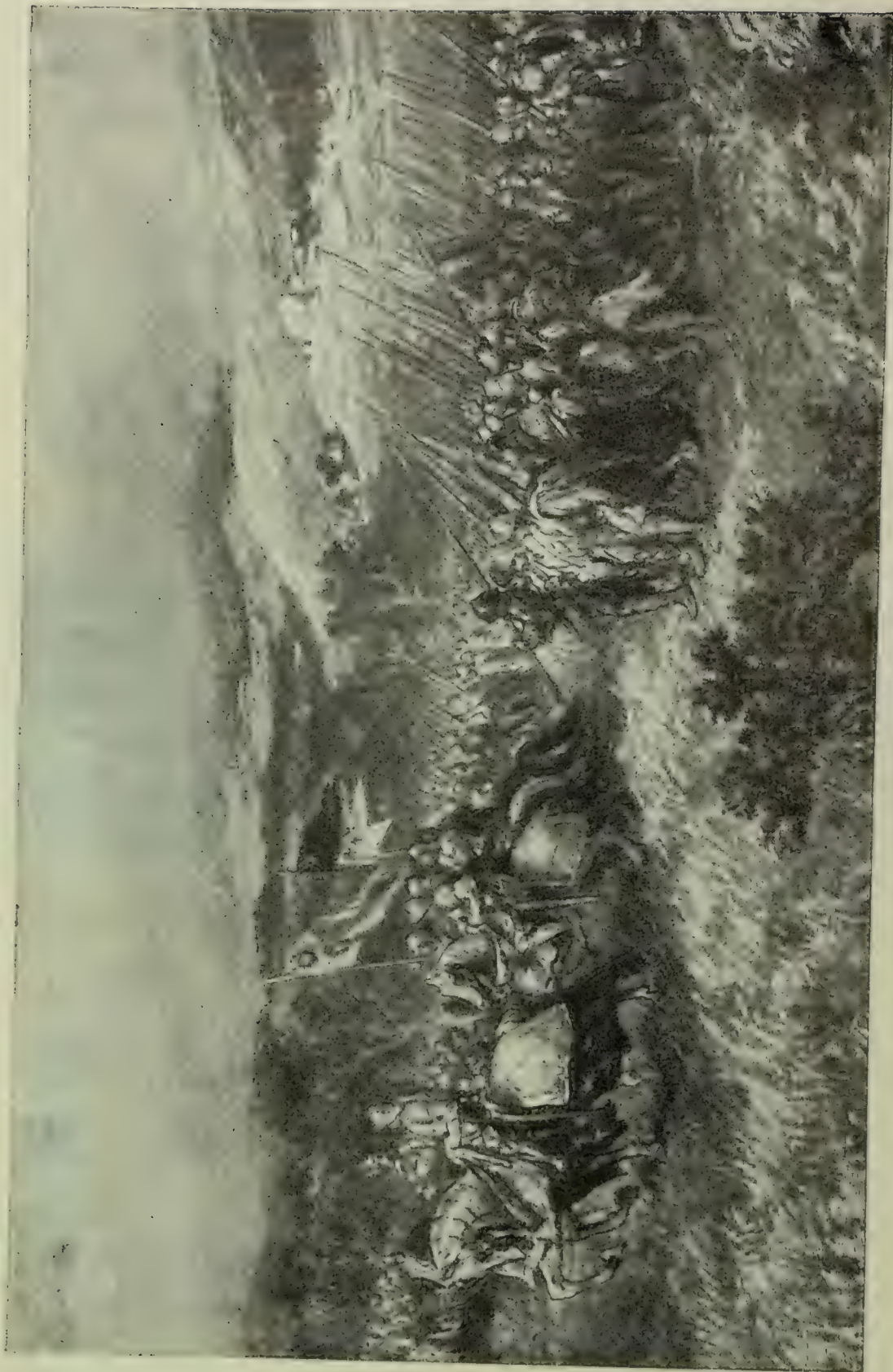
But in the reign of William the Lion a great soldier, called Saladin, recovered Jerusalem and drove the Christians out, and the church again called on all Christian soldiers to save the Holy Land. Henry II. intended to go, but he died, and his son and successor, Richard I., the Lion Heart, made up his mind

to go at any cost. He needed a great deal of money for his expedition, and in return for a large sum he restored the independence of Scotland, which became again a free country. This agreement did not put an end to the question about the English overlordship; but we must remember that the disgrace of the



*Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.*





CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH.

(From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the South Kensington Museum.)

Treaty of Falaise was thus wiped out within fifteen years.

William the Lion died in 1214, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II. (1214–1249), whose great work was the conquest of the Norsemen who had settled in Argyll. He was able to enforce the royal authority both there and in Caithness; and, like his predecessors, he had to suppress rebellions in Moray and in Galloway. His son, Alexander III. (1249–1286), still further extended the power of the Scottish Crown. In 1263 he quarrelled with Haco, King of Norway, who ruled the islands on the west coast, which, you will recollect, had been given up by King Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore. Haco of Norway, with a great fleet, came to Scotland to punish Alexander, but he was totally defeated at the battle of Largs (1263). Alexander immediately took the opportunity of seizing the islands, and in 1266 Haco's successor, Eric of Norway, yielded them up to the Scots.

You will notice that, after the agreement between William the Lion and Richard I. of England, we have said nothing about wars between England and Scotland. The reason is that for a hundred years there were no wars and very few disputes. William the Lion and Alexander II. both had difficulties with the bad King

John of England, and when Henry III. succeeded John, he and Alexander had some disputes about the old claim of overlordship. But no blood was shed ; and when Alexander died, leaving a little boy to succeed him, Henry III. helped the young king to keep his throne, the safety of which was threatened by some of the ambitious nobles, of whom we shall soon hear more. But Henry did not give this assistance as overlord of the kingdom ; he called himself merely "principal counsellor to the illustrious King of Scotland." The Scottish king still held lands in England, and for these lands Alexander III. did homage when Edward I. succeeded to the English throne, but the Scottish chroniclers tell that he solemnly asserted that he owed homage for his kingdom of Scotland to none but God.

The story of these hundred years of peace is very briefly told and very easily remembered. Scotland was becoming a peaceful and a united people, a land in which the authority of the king was gaining strength every year, and in which good laws were being made and obeyed. Trade and agriculture flourished. The towns grew in wealth and in importance, and the kings gave them privileges which helped them to extend their commerce, and many foreigners came to settle in Scotland in order to trade. Men who could afford to



take a small farm and till the ground were compelled by law to do so. Churches and castles were built all over the country. Law courts were established, and royal judges were appointed to administer the law.

In all this the Scottish kings were largely guided by their knowledge of the institutions which had made England a peaceful and prosperous country. From the days of Malcolm Canmore to those of Alexander III.—that is, for more than two hundred years—the Scots imitated English institutions and English ways, just as on the east coast they had by this time adopted the English tongue, though further inland Gaelic was still spoken.

We have now to relate how this long peace of a hundred years was broken by a fierce and cruel war: how the influence of England, which had been so strong for two centuries, came to an end, and how the prosperity of Scotland decreased instead of growing greater. The troubles began with the sudden death of Alexander III. One March evening, in the year 1286, he was riding from Edinburgh to Kinghorn in Fife. He crossed the Forth in safety, but as he approached Kinghorn his horse stumbled, and he was thrown and killed. Alexander's three sons and his daughter had all died within the preceding five years, and none of his sons left any children. His



daughter, Margaret, had been married to Eric, the King of Norway who had given up the Hebrides to Alexander III., and she had left a child, now three years old, who now became the Queen of Scotland on the death of her grandfather.



MONUMENT TO ALEXANDER III. AT KINGHORN.

## Chapter VI.

### THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

DURING the hundred years of which we have been speaking, great changes had been taking place in England. In the reign of King John she lost the duchy of Normandy, and one result of this loss was to diminish the connection between England and France. Before this time the English nobles were partly English and partly French. After England ceased to possess Normandy, the nobles became much more English, and they joined with the people to curb the power of King John and of his son, Henry III. There grew up in England a dislike of foreigners and of foreign ways, and we can trace the rise of a strong national feeling and of a real English patriotism.

The great English king, Edward I., is the best representative of both the good and the bad side of this strong English feeling. It was he who gave England her national Parliament, which all the world has wished to imitate, and it was he who led England into her great attempt to make our whole island English and subject to the Eng-

lish king. This attempt was one of the results of the growth of English patriotic feeling. Edward's policy was that Wales and Scotland must cease to be Welsh and Scottish and must become English, at all events in name. He began this policy in Wales, and he was successful in conquering the Welsh, and gave to his eldest son the ancient title of Prince of Wales. The death of Alexander III. seemed to him to open up the prospect of a still more exalted destiny for the new Prince of Wales. If he were to marry the little Queen of Scots he would become King of Scotland, and when in due course he succeeded to the English throne he would be ruler of the whole island of Great Britain.

The first thing which we must remember about this new scheme of Edward's is that it was cordially welcomed in Scotland. The Scots and the English had long been friends; the English had helped the Scots in their last great struggle with the Danes, and they had also been friendly and helpful during the minority of Alexander III. The Lowlands of Scotland spoke the English tongue; they were accustomed to the ways of English merchants, and they valued English trade. The Scots were afraid that one or other of their great barons would attempt to deprive the child-queen of her throne, and that a civil war would break

out: they were especially afraid of one great baron, closely related to the royal family—namely, Robert Bruce, who was Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and who also had land in England. For all these reasons the Scots were glad to hear of Edward's proposal.

Accordingly, in 1290, an agreement was made which is known as the Treaty of Brigham. In this treaty nothing was said about overlordship. The young Edward of England was to marry Queen Margaret, and so unite the two crowns; but Scotland was not to become part of England. The King of England was to have some authority in Scotland during Queen Margaret's minority, in order to maintain peace in the land. The Scots were much surprised, however, when Edward, in virtue of this authority, demanded that all the great castles or strongholds of Scotland should be placed in his power and filled with English garrisons. This demand was indignantly refused, and Edward was wise enough not to insist upon it. All through these negotiations he showed tact and patience, and his efforts were crowned with success. In accordance with the Treaty of Brigham, Edward sent a ship to Norway to bring back the little Queen Margaret—the Maid of Norway as she was called—and he was considerate enough to order





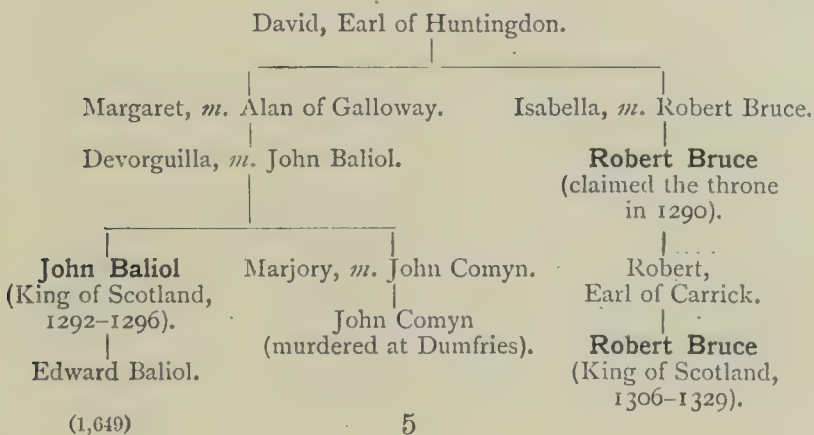


Norham Castle.

(From the picture by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.)

that it should carry raisins and other fruit for the girl.

Edward's marriage scheme came to an end through no fault of his own. The Maid of Norway set sail in September 1290, but she died on the voyage, and left the throne of Scotland vacant. Who should fill it? There were thirteen claimants or competitors, the two most important of whom were descended from David, brother of William the Lion. This David had held the earldom of Huntingdon, which had long been claimed by the royal family of Scotland, and he is known as David, Earl of Huntingdon. We need not trouble about the other claimants, but it will be well to understand about those two of the descendants of this David, and the easiest way is to look at the following table:—



The table contains some names which are not important for us at present, but to which we shall have to refer later on. Meanwhile, let us look at two of the names in black type, John Baliol and Robert Bruce. The first was the great-grandson of Earl David, and was descended from his eldest daughter ; the other was the grandson of Earl David, and was descended from his second daughter. Bruce held that a grandson was a nearer heir than a great-grandson, and Baliol said that the descendants of an eldest daughter had a better right than the children of a second daughter. Both Bruce and Baliol were English nobles as well as Scottish nobles, and held land in both countries. It would therefore have been natural that they should invite the English king to decide between them.

Edward did not wait to be invited, nor did he offer his services as a friend and ally of the Scots. He summoned the Scottish nobles to meet him at Norham in May 1291, and informed them that he was lord paramount of Scotland, and that it was his right as overlord to decide this dispute among his vassals. We have seen how very dubious was this assertion, and we know that it had been kept in the background since the agreement between Richard I. and William the Lion a hundred years before. We might therefore expect that the Scottish nobles would indignantly

repudiate this claim about which the English king had hitherto been silent. But we must remember that these Anglo-Scottish nobles did not represent the Scottish people. They were greedy and self-seeking ; many of them were already vassals of the English Crown for lands held in England ; and though they hesitated a little, the claimants acknowledged the English supremacy, and each promised that if he were declared king he would be a loyal and faithful vassal, not only for his lands in England, but for the crown and kingdom of Scotland.

Thus the position of independence which Scotland had so long maintained, and for which she had more than once risked war, was thrown away, and it seemed that all Edward had to do was to choose the most servile and obsequious of the claimants. He selected John Baliol, who had as good a right as any of the others, and who was generally regarded as likely to be obedient to his English master. Everything was done to impress on Baliol and on Scotland the humble position which king and kingdom were now to occupy. King John had to admit publicly all that King Edward demanded, and the great seal of the kingdom of Scotland was solemnly broken to show that there was no real power in Scotland except the English power.

For three and a half years the King of Scotland



ruled ignominiously and unhappily. Edward spared him no shame. He supported his subjects against him, and summoned him to England for the trial of cases in which Scotsmen were concerned. Edward himself was, for his French possessions, the vassal of the King of France, but he valued his obligations to his French overlord very lightly. Edward's grandfather, King John, had solemnly admitted that the King of England held the position of a vassal to the Pope, yet Edward admitted no such claim. But in dealing with his own vassal, Baliol, he made demands which went far beyond what was ordinarily admitted by feudal custom, and, whether intentionally or not, he goaded his Scottish vassal into rebellion. Baliol felt that the kingdom of Scotland was not worth holding as Edward intended him to hold it, and he took a step which was to become in future years a very familiar device of Scottish politicians.

There is in existence to-day a Franco-Scottish Society, which aims at maintaining the memory of the centuries when Scotland and France were allied against England. We have now reached the beginning of this important alliance. There had, of course, been relations between Scotland and France before now, but they had not been due to enmity against the English. John Baliol, however, by

an arrangement with France, placed Scotland and France in alliance to defeat their common enemy, England. We shall hear much more of the alliance and friendship between Scotland and France ; meanwhile we have to record a failure.

Baliol declared that he was an independent king, and the Scots began to make raids into England. Edward, whether he had been hoping for this opportunity or not, determined to make good use of it. Scotland was no longer to be a vassal-kingdom ; it must become part of England, and be ruled by the English sovereign. He raised an army, and marched northwards. When he reached the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, he found the inhabitants prepared to resist his advance. They refused him entrance, and they jeered at his army. The English king took a cruel revenge. He easily succeeded in capturing the town, and when it was in his hands he ordered a massacre without regard to age or sex. Thus, after a hundred years of peace, the first important act of war between the two countries was marked by a ferocious and merciless slaughter (1296).

The massacre of Berwick was fatal to Edward's policy. Henceforward it was to be war to the knife. The Scots might be forced into temporary submission, but hundreds of years must elapse before there could be any real chance of union.



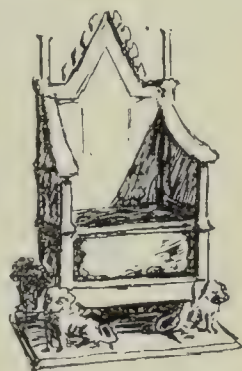
BERWICK-ON-TWEED.

England, instead of being regarded as a friend and ally, was to become the "auld enemy."

At first, however, it seemed as if Edward was to be successful. He defeated the Scots at Dunbar, and captured the castles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. Having thus obtained command of the Lowlands, he went on to the north. Baliol, who realized that it was hopeless to resist, met Edward at Stracathro, near Brechin, and gave up his crown. He was imprisoned in England, and was then sent to live on his estate in Normandy, and the name of King John passes out of Scottish story. Meanwhile the English

king continued his triumphal progress through Aberdeenshire and Banffshire into Morayshire. He did not go beyond Elgin, whence he marched back to England. From Scone, near Perth, he carried away the famous Stone of Fate, on which the kings of the Scots were crowned. Legend told that it was the stone pillow on which the patriarch Jacob had laid his head at Bethel; it had been brought from Ireland to Scotland by the Scots of Dalriada, and had been moved from Argyllshire to Scone when the kings of the Scots came to be rulers of the Picts as well. There was a prophecy that where that stone rested the blood of the Scots should flow in the veins of the monarchs of the land. Edward took it to Westminster, and it became part of the coronation chair of the kings of England.

The prophecy about the Stone of Fate was destined to be fulfilled after more than three hundred years; but when Edward bore it away from Scotland, the doom of the country seemed to be sealed. Along with the stone Edward removed many of the ancient records of the kingdom, and it is partly owing to him that we know so little of early Scottish history. To the school-boy it may appear a reason for gratitude that there is so little left to learn; but, on the other hand, if we knew more, it would all be much more interest-



*Coronation Chair, with  
the Stone of Fate.*



ing. Edward was not thinking of twentieth century Scottish schoolboys ; he was determined, in fact, that there should be no Scottish schoolboys. Scotland was to be merely the northern part of England, with no national life and no national feeling. When he left Scotland, he left it full of garrisons of English soldiers, and he appointed three English nobles to govern it. The governors were harsh, the English garrisons were cruel, and the high-spirited people of Scotland were subjected to constant insult and humiliation. The path of obedience to England was not made easy.

We have seen how the nobles of Scotland betrayed the cause of the nation ; and it is not surprising that they did so, for many of them, and the greatest of them, were partly Scottish, partly English, and partly Norman. But the people of Scotland (except in the Lothians) were still Scottish, although some of the Lowlanders had adopted the English tongue and English manners. Where were the common people all this time ? The English king had left them out of his reckoning, and for a short time it seemed as if he were right. Deprived of their natural leaders, the barons, they were disunited, and had no standard to which they could flock. When Edward returned to England, believing that his work was done, the people of Scotland were wait-

ing for a leader. The leader came at last, and though he was no great noble, bore no famous name, and could summon no great array of men-at-arms to do his bidding, the people at once recognized him as the saviour of Scotland. His name is one of the two or three best known and most loved in the whole of Scottish history—Sir William Wallace of Elderslie. We do not know how he came to lead the nation. Tradition tells that it was a deep and unpardonable personal injury which led him, in the end of 1296, to collect small bands of Scotsmen to attack English garrisons. When his exploits became known, men began to flock to his banner, and in the summer of 1297 he was at the head of a large army, ready to win back freedom for Scotland.



## Chapter VII.

### WALLACE AND BRUCE.

WALLACE was not able to save Scotland from the English, but he succeeded in showing his countrymen that it was possible to resist them, and he set a great example of skill and courage and devotion. On the 11th September, 1297, he won the first great Scottish victory since the battle of Carham. It is known as the battle of Stirling Bridge or Cambuskenneth Bridge. Wallace's position was under the Abbey Craig, on the top of which the Wallace Monument now stands. The English, under Surrey and Cressingham, were on the other side of the river Forth, and they rashly attempted to cross by means of a bridge in the face of the enemy. Wallace allowed a number of the English to cross undisturbed, and he then launched his army upon them. They were unable to hold the bridge, and nearly all who had crossed or were crossing were slain or drowned; the remainder of the defeated army retreated as far as Berwick-on-Tweed.

We need not ask why this battle was fought at

Stirling, for we already understand that Stirling was important because it commanded the road from the north of Scotland to the south. The possession of Stirling made Wallace, for the time, master of the country, and soon he began to rule



SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE.

it under the title of Guardian of Scotland, or regent for John Baliol. He made some inroads into England, in which his followers showed the same ferocious cruelty as Edward I. had displayed at Berwick. The English king had set a bad example, and his enemies were quite ready to



follow it, and so the war of independence was a cruel war even for those cruel days.

The government of Wallace did not last long, for in the summer of 1298 Edward himself invaded Scotland, and met Wallace at Falkirk. The story of the battle of Falkirk is worth remembering, because it is like so many later battles between the English and the Scots. Wallace's men were drawn up in great "schiltrons" or divisions of spearmen, and when the English cavalry charged for the first time they were easily driven back from what looked like a wall of spears and lances. But Edward, who was a great soldier, recalled the cavalry, and sent the archers to shower their arrows upon the Scottish host. Wallace's cavalry failed to attack the English bowmen, and his own archers were too few to do much harm. So the deadly shower did its work, and when the English horse charged again they found it easy to break up the Scottish ranks. The power of Wallace was destroyed in one fatal day. He lived for some years as an exile in France or as a fugitive in Scotland, until, in 1305, he was captured by a Scot who took the English side, and was handed over to the English king. In London, after a mock trial, he was sentenced to the awful death of a traitor. He died



*English Bowmen.*



WALLACE ON THE MARCH.

bravely and nobly, and when Edward sent portions of his body to Scotland, to show what the enemies of England might expect, he only succeeded in creating more love and reverence for the memory of a great man who had died for his country.

While Wallace was in exile or in hiding, the Scots continued the struggle which he had inspired. Year after year the English had once more to attempt the conquest of Scotland; and they were not always successful, for they were defeated at Rosslyn in 1303. It was not until 1305, the year of Wallace's death, that Edward could flatter himself that he had subdued Scotland, and could make arrangements for governing it as a part of England. In 1305, Scottish representatives attended a parliament in London. In that same parliament there was an English lord of whom we shall have much to say. His name was Robert Bruce.

This Robert Bruce was the grandson of the Bruce who had claimed the throne in 1290. You will find his name in the table on page 79. He had succeeded to his grandfather's estates both in England and in Scotland, and though he had changed sides more than once, he was generally regarded as being in the English interest, and it was believed that he had fought at Falkirk against





THE TRIAL OF WALLACE.

(From the picture by Daniel Maclise, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery. By permission of the Corporation of London.)



Wallace. After Wallace's defeat he had been on the Scottish side, but he had submitted to Edward, and now we find him as an English nobleman in Edward's English Parliament. When we next meet him it is in a church, and his hands are red with blood.

In February 1306, a few months after this London Parliament, Bruce arranged to meet a certain John Comyn in the church of the Minorite Friars at Dumfries. Who was John Comyn, and why did these two men meet? If you look again at the table on page 79, you will see that John Comyn was a nephew of John Baliol, whose sister had married Comyn's father. Nobody in Scotland wanted the Baliols back again, and so John Comyn held that he represented the family, and that the claim of his uncle and cousin had passed to him. Thus, if Scotland was ever to have a king of her own again, it would probably be either John Comyn or Robert Bruce. Tradition says that the two had agreed that another effort must be made to save Scotland from the English, and that they met to settle which of them should be the king. Such a question was not easy to settle, and Bruce and Comyn were both hot-tempered men who had flown at each other's throats before now. They failed



*Robert Bruce.*



The Battle of Bannockburn. — (*From a painting by J. J. Anson.*)

to agree, and from high words passed to blows. Bruce's friends were waiting for him outside the church. "I doubt I have slain the Red Comyn," he said, when he came out. "Doubt?" replied Sir Roger Kirkpatrick; "I'll mak siccar," and soon the Red Comyn's body lay dead in front of the altar.

Bruce had now placed himself in a dangerous position. He had slain the rival claimant for the throne of Scotland, and the English could not doubt that he meant to claim it for himself. But what chance was there of making good his claim, and of persuading the Scots to follow his banner? He belonged to a family which had always been "pro-English," and his own record was not clean. How could the people trust a man who had taken up the national cause, not, it seemed, from any love for Scotland, but because it was now his only chance of escape from Edward's vengeance? And how could they hope that success would follow him? He had committed murder in a holy place, and had brought upon himself the curse of the church; he would soon be an excommunicated man. Further, he had a blood feud with the family of the dead Comyn and with their kinsfolk in Scotland, all of whom would now take the English side. It seemed well-nigh impossible that Scotland should receive her freedom from such a man and in circumstances like these.

At first it appeared as if these gloomy forebodings were to be quickly realized. Bruce was crowned King of Scotland at Scone six weeks after Comyn's death. His own people of Carrick followed his standard, and so strong was the national feeling that by the month of May he was at the head of an army. But in June he was defeated at Methven, near Perth. For nearly a year he was a wanderer on the face of the earth. Three of his brothers were captured and put to death ; his wife and daughter fell into the hands of the English, and were kept as prisoners until after the battle of Bannockburn. Even in his own country of Carrick, King Robert could find no shelter, and he spent the winter in the island of Rathlin. In the spring of 1307 he landed in Scotland, and in spite of excommunication and defeat, he again found himself at the head of an army. On the 10th of May he won his first victory at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire. The people of Scotland had once more found a leader, and Bruce lived to do more than redeem his past, and became a great patriot and a great monarch.

Meanwhile the King of England was marching towards Scotland to suppress this fresh struggle for freedom, but he was never again to set foot on Scottish soil. In June he died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle, and the last wish of his dauntless





BRUCE IN HIDING.

heart was that his bones should be carried by the English army until Scotland was subdued. But Edward II., who succeeded the "Hammer of the Scots," was a man of a different mould. He buried his great father in Westminster Abbey, and the English people mourned a good and wise ruler. King Robert was left to face only the friends of Comyn and the Scottish allies of the English king. He defeated the Comyns in Aberdeenshire and their allies in Argyllshire, and soon there remained in Scotland no English party except the English garrisons in the castles. Edward II. made an unsuccessful invasion in 1310, but by that time Bruce had almost the whole nation behind him. He was still under the ban of the Pope, but the Scottish clergy met together and vowed obedience to him as their sovereign and liege lord.

One by one the great strongholds of Scotland were taken by Bruce, or by his famous lieutenants, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the Black Douglas. There is no time to tell here, though every Scottish boy and girl should know them, the stories of the recovery of Linlithgow and Roxburgh and Edinburgh castles, and the desperate deeds done at the Castle Dangerous, the Douglas's own home. You will find them in the best history of Scotland that has ever been written, Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather." At

last only Stirling Castle held an English garrison, and its commander promised Edward Bruce to surrender if it were not relieved by Midsummer Day, 1314. This was not a wise bargain for the Scots to make, because it gave the English king time to make preparations for another great invasion; but through the genius of King Robert this agreement gave to Scotland her greatest day.

In June 1314 Edward II., at the head of a large English army, was marching upon Stirling. The King of Scotland collected his forces south of the castle, near where the Sauchie Burn and the Bannock Burn join. He chose a position where the English would be hemmed in by a wood and a marsh, and would have no room to use to advantage their great numbers. Randolph, Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglas, and King Robert were the leaders of the Scottish army, in which Highlanders from Argyll and from the Isles fought side by side with the men of the Lowlands. When the battle

began the English cavalry charged and were repulsed, as they had been repulsed at Falkirk. But when Edward II. tried to repeat his father's device, and to break up the Scottish schiltrons with a shower of arrows, he found that there was no room to draw back the horse and send the archers to the front. Those of the English bowmen



who tried to reach the Scottish flank were driven off by the Scottish cavalry, and in the end the English horsemen had to charge upon the fresh and unbroken Scottish line. They were thrown into con-



STIRLING CASTLE.

fusion by a number of "pots" or holes which the Scots had dug and covered over with brushwood ; and just as they were wavering, they saw, on the hill in front, what they believed to be a new Scottish



army advancing to the attack. It was only a company of Scottish gillies, or camp followers, rushing down to share in the spoil; but at the sight of them the English lost all hope of success and all sense of discipline. Never did an English army suffer so complete and terrible a defeat. Their king fled in wild haste to Dunbar, and thence took boat for England. Twenty barons and forty-two knights lay dead on the field, with numberless men of lower rank; twenty-two barons were among King Robert's vast array of prisoners. The English monarch had brought to the field of battle the luxuries of a palace, and the spoils of Bannockburn adorned many a Scottish castle and many a Scottish church.

From that Midsummer Day Scotland was free, although fourteen years elapsed before the English agreed to acknowledge Scottish independence by signing the Treaty of Northampton (1328). During some of these years the war continued, but the Scottish invasions of England were more numerous than the English invasions of Scotland, and the north of England suffered severely. Edward II. also found Scottish enemies in Ireland aiding the Irish in their struggle with England. Since the time of Henry II. the kings of England had claimed to rule Ireland, and they had to face many rebellions. The Scottish help was not very

important, for Edward Bruce, who was crowned King of Ireland in 1316, was defeated and killed two years later. A truce was made in 1323, but Edward II. still refused to admit that Scotland was free, and it was only after his deposition that the regents for the young king, Edward III., solemnly acknowledged King Robert I. as the ruler of an independent kingdom.



SCOTTISH SPEARMEN.

## Chapter VIII.

### AFTER BANNOCKBURN.

WHAT, then, was the result of the Scottish policy of Edward I., wise and statesmanlike in its beginnings, but rash and cruel in its development? We have seen that he found the two countries living at peace and possessing the traditions of a hundred years of friendly neighbourhood; we shall see that his attempt at conquest was followed by more than two hundred and fifty years of bitter hatred and of almost constant warfare. We shall see how the English policy in France and in Ireland was hampered by the action of the Scottish government, and how Scotland helped pretenders to the English throne. We shall see how Scotland, which till now had been deeply influenced by English civilization, turned to France for its inspiration and its models, and how the friends of England in the kingdom of Scotland were traitors and rebels until all was changed by the rise of a great religious dispute. For peace and harmony Edward had given the two countries war and fierce enmity.

It is sometimes said that Bannockburn was a misfortune for Scotland, and that if the Scots had quietly submitted to be incorporated with England, it would have been much better for themselves. This is a view frequently held in England, and there have been some Scotsmen who considered it noble and broad-minded to be ashamed of Bannockburn. It is always very difficult to know what *would* have happened if something else had not happened, and those who talk as if Scotland would have been happy under English rule forget many things. They point to the long series of invasions and battles and sieges and skirmishes, to the waste of human life, and to the loss of time and opportunity which the long warfare involved. No one can doubt that Scotland suffered from these things, or that the War of Independence left a cruel legacy. But would all have been well if the country had become North England? Ireland had no Bannockburn: did Ireland enjoy peace and prosperity, or did England show any zeal for the good of Ireland?

The history of Scotland will certainly compare not unfavourably with the history of Ireland, but we will go further and compare the history of Scotland with that of England herself. Between the date of Bannockburn and the Union of the Crowns, England was not always prosperous or



always happy. Her resources were drained by French wars which lasted for a hundred years. When these were over she found herself in the storm and stress of a civil war between the houses of Lancaster and York, and she escaped from these only by submitting to the stern and despotic rule of the Tudors. It is frequently argued that because one Scottish king after another died violent deaths, the country was therefore savage and disturbed ; but this was not the fate of the monarchs of Scotland alone. Edward II. and Richard II. and Henry VI. of England were all deposed and murdered, and Richard III. died fighting against his own subjects. England had her periods of prosperity, but so also had Scotland. Cathedrals and religious houses were built ; universities were founded ; a navy was created ; trade advanced. It is not easy to show that the condition of England between the reigns of Edward I. and Queen Elizabeth was happier than the condition of Scotland between the reigns of Robert I. and James VI.

But if we grant—what is undeniable—that Scotland suffered from the constant warfare which followed Bannockburn, we have yet to ask what she gained by her freedom. The answer is that she gained *herself*. The country north of the Tweed and the Cheviots would not have been

Scotland, nor its inhabitants the Scotsmen and Scotswomen of to-day, if our ancestors had submitted to the English yoke. The merits and the faults of the Scottish character are largely the result of Scottish history. The past is alive in the men and women of the present ; the men and women who might have existed with a different history behind them would have been different men and women. It is not for us to say whether they would have been better or worse, but we know that they **could** not have been the same. The War of Independence moulded Scotland into a nation, and the effort to maintain the independence then won has deeply affected the national character. The love of freedom, the willingness to fight and to suffer and to die for freedom, the knowledge that there are things higher even than life itself, have produced national characteristics which material prosperity would have failed to produce.

The remaining portion of this book will abound in illustrations of these profound influences ; but before we proceed to tell the story of the centuries that followed Bannockburn, we must refer to two results of the independence won on that battlefield. The first was an immediate effect ; the second began to operate two hundred and fifty years afterwards.

If Scotland lost something by ceasing to follow English models, she also gained something by

beginning to follow French models. France was not behind England in civilization, and the impulse which Scotland received from France in education, in the arts of building and painting, to some extent in literature, and most of all in the making of laws, has left many traces behind it. Our law is still Scots law, and where it differs from English law it gives more protection to the weak and helpless, to children and to women.

Our second point is this. No institution has so deeply moulded the Scottish character as the Presbyterian Church. We shall have to say much of church history in later chapters, but we must not close our brief survey of the results of Bannockburn without pointing out that, if the Reformation had found Scotland a province of England, its course and its effects would have been widely different from what they actually were. We may discuss whether the ultimate results would have been better or worse ; but it is unquestionable that the Scottish people to-day and for centuries to come are and will be deeply influenced by the fact that, in the sixteenth century, Scotland chose her own part and lot in the great religious revolution. She was free to make her choice because Bruce defeated Edward II. at Bannockburn.

The great Scottish poet John Barbour, who wrote the story of Bruce some fifty years after the

good king's death, has thus described for us the love of freedom which inspired his countrymen :—

“ Ah ! freedom is a noble thing.  
 Freedom makes man to have liking ; \*  
 Freedom all solace to man gives.  
 He lives at ease who freely lives ;  
 A noble heart may have no ease,  
 And nothing else that may him please  
 If freedom fail ; for free liking \*  
 Is yearned for o'er all other thing,  
 And he that aye has lived free  
 May not know well the property, †  
 The anger, nay, the wretched doom  
 That coupled is with foul thraldom.”

King Robert I. died in June 1329, a year after the Treaty of Northampton. His reign was so largely occupied in fighting that he could devote little time to the settlement of the kingdom. He had to reward those who had helped him, and the lands which he gave them made their families so important that they soon became dangerous to the crown and to the kingdom.

He was wise enough to understand the advantage of the great English institution of a parliament, and he summoned representatives of the Scottish burghs into the great council of the king-



*Coin of Robert Bruce.*

\* Pleasure, enjoyment.

† Peculiar condition.



dom. His Parliaments passed some useful Acts, but they were largely concerned with money affairs and with the defence of the country. King Robert tried hard to persuade Scotsmen to train themselves to fight when need should arise, and especially to learn the use of the bow, which made the armies of England so formidable. But Scotsmen did not take naturally to archery, and instead of learning to be good soldiers, they preferred to play football. Nearly all the Scottish defeats were victories of the English bowmen, and time after time the kings of Scotland followed the example of King Robert the Bruce in insisting upon military training. Football was at one time actually forbidden by law, because it occupied leisure hours that might have been given to practice with bow and arrow.

It was not long before the Scots found out the evil results of neglecting good King Robert's advice about archery. When Bruce died, in 1329, he was succeeded by a boy of five years, his only son, David II., and immediately afterwards the able and ambitious Edward III. tried to carry out the policy which Edward I. had adopted when he placed John Baliol on the throne. The regents for the young David II. gave him an excuse for declining to act in accordance with the Treaty of Northampton, and the English king refused to acknowledge the treaty, and attempted to place

Edward Baliol, the son of John Baliol, on the Scottish throne. In 1332, Baliol invaded Scotland with the help of an English army, and defeated the Scottish regents at Dupplin Moor, near Perth. For three months he reigned as a vassal king, and he was then driven out of Scotland, fleeing, as the Scots loved to tell, with "one leg booted and the other naked." Edward III. marched northwards to reinstate his vassal, and completely defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill, near Berwick (1333). The disasters at Dupplin and at Halidon were alike due to the weakness of the Scots in archery ; no courage and no firmness on the part of the spearmen could withstand the "gray-goose shafts" of the English, who gloried over Halidon as removing the shame of Bannockburn.

For lack of bow and arrow the kingdom seemed for a time to be lost. Edward III. seized the country between the Tweed and the Forth, and left his vassal to rule the rest of Scotland. But the Scots had won their independence too hardly to lose it easily, and they continued the fight. Soon the ambitious Edward entered upon a greater task—the conquest of France—and left the Scots to destroy the English garrisons in the castles, just as Bruce and Randolph and Douglas had done thirty years before. These high hearts had all ceased to beat, for Randolph and Douglas had

soon followed their master to the grave. Douglas had fallen in Spain, carrying the Bruce's heart into battle against the Moorish infidels, and Randolph had died in the dark days just before Dupplin. The hero of the war against Edward III. and Edward Baliol was a lady, the daughter of the noble Randolph. She was the wife of the Earl of March, and she defended his castle of Dunbar through the first six months of the year 1338. You will find the story of Black Agnes in "Tales of a Grandfather"—how the English assaulted the castle by land and sea, and how she finally drove them off singing,—

"Came I early, came I late,  
I found Agnes at the gate."

Soon Baliol fled again, and David II., who had been sent to France for safety, was brought back to Scotland. Edward III. was now engaged in the French war, and the Scots attempted to help their French allies by invading England. They fought a great battle at Neville's Cross, near Durham, in 1346 (the year of Crécy). Once again the Scots failed to bring to the battlefield a sufficient number of bowmen, and once again they met with a severe defeat. King David was captured, and remained a prisoner in England for eleven years. There was no other important battle, but Edward III. found

time in 1356 (the year of Poitiers) to ravage the Lowlands of Scotland, and the February of that year was long known as the "Burned Candlemas."

Scotland lost nothing by its king's imprisonment in England, for David was an unworthy son of the Bruce, and actually proposed to acknowledge Prince Lionel of England as his heir in return for his own freedom. The Scottish Parliament refused to hear of any such bargain, and paid a ransom for their king. The payment of this money did not bring about peace, and Edward was again preparing for an invasion when his energies were once more diverted to France, and a truce was made with Scotland. England was now suffering from the effects of the French war, and from the great plague known as the Black Death. Her king was growing old; there was great unrest in the country, and when David II. died, in 1371, there was little danger to the freedom of Scotland.



RUINS OF DUNBAR CASTLE.



## Chapter IX.

### THE HOUSE OF STEWART.

KING ROBERT THE BRUCE had been twice married. By his first marriage he had a daughter, Marjory, who married Walter Fitzalan, High Steward of the kingdom of Scotland, and had a son called Robert. By his second marriage King Robert had a son who became David II., and of whom we have just spoken. David was younger than Marjory's son, Robert Fitzalan, and when David died Robert was already an old man. He had taken a great share in governing Scotland while David was a prisoner, and as David had no children, Robert was his heir. He now succeeded to the throne, and was the first sovereign of the great House of Stewart. His surname was not "Stewart" but Fitzalan, but as his ancestors had for generations held the office of High Steward, the family had come to call themselves Stewards or Stewarts, and to drop their own name. Hence Robert II. founded the House of Stewart, which ruled Scotland for more than three hundred years.

Robert was old and not very vigorous, but he

renewed the war with England, and made a firm alliance with France. A French army came to Scotland, and their leader wanted to fight a great battle against the English. But the Scots felt themselves too weak in archery, and declined to do anything more than make raids into English territory. Even when Richard II. of England invaded Scotland in 1385, and burned the great monasteries of Dryburgh, Melrose, and Newbattle, they felt that it would not be wise to meet him in the field. The French returned home in disgust, and reported that Scotland was a poor place, with leaden skies and never-ending rain, and inhabited by poverty-stricken savages. If they had come three years later, they would have discovered that the Border raids which they despised could give opportunities for gallant deeds, the fame of which spread far and wide.

In 1388 there was fought the only battle of this period which we need remember—the battle of Otterburn or Chevy Chase. It had no important results, but the fight itself is worth knowing about. Both the Scots and the English made ballads about it, and a great French historian, Froissart, wrote a brilliant description of it, which Sir Walter



*A Border Raid.*

Scott used in his "Tales of a Grandfather." This is how Sir Walter tells the story:—

"Percy, Earl of Northumberland, an English noble of great power, with whom the Douglasses had frequently had encounters, sent his two sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, to stop the progress of the invasion. Both were gallant knights; but the first, who from his impetuosity was called Hotspur, was one of the most distinguished warriors in England, as Douglas was in Scotland. The brothers threw themselves hastily into Newcastle, to defend that important town; and as Douglas, in an insulting manner, drew up his followers before the walls, they came out to skirmish with the Scots. Douglas and Henry Percy encountered personally, and it so chanced that Douglas in the struggle got possession of Hotspur's spear, to the end of which was attached a small ornament of silk, embroidered with pearls, on which was represented a lion, the cognizance, as it is called, of the Percies. Douglas shook this trophy aloft, and declared that he would carry it into Scotland, and plant it on his castle of Dalkeith.



*The Percy Pennon.*

" 'That,' said Percy, 'shalt thou never do. I will regain my lance ere thou canst get back into Scotland.'

“‘Then,’ said Douglas, ‘come to seek it, and thou shalt find it before my tent.’

“The Scottish army, having completed the purpose of their expedition, began their retreat up the vale of the little river Reed, which afforded a tolerable road running north-westwards towards their own frontier. They encamped at Otterburn, about twenty miles from the Scottish border, on the 19th August 1388.

“In the middle of the night the alarm arose in the Scottish camp that the English host were coming upon them, and the moonlight showed the approach of Sir Henry Percy, with a body of men superior in number to that of Douglas. He had already crossed the Reed water, and was advancing towards the left flank of the Scottish army. Douglas, not choosing to receive the assault in that position, drew his men out of the camp, and with a degree of military skill which could scarce have been expected when his forces were of such an undisciplined character, he altogether changed the position of the army, and presented his troops with their front to the advancing English.

“Hotspur, in the meantime, marched his squadrons through the deserted camp, where there were none left but a few servants and stragglers of the army. The interruptions which the English troops met threw them a little into disorder, when the





BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.

moon arising showed them the Scottish army, which they had supposed to be retreating, drawn up in complete order and prepared to fight. The battle commenced with the greatest fury, for Percy and Douglas were the two most distinguished soldiers of their time, and each army trusted in the courage and talents of their commanders, whose names were shouted on either side. The Scots, who were outnumbered, were at length about to give way, when Douglas, their leader, caused his banner to advance, attended by his best men. He himself, shouting his war-cry of 'Douglas!' rushed forward, clearing his way with the blows of his battle-axe, and breaking into the very thickest of the enemy. He fell, at length, under three mortal wounds. Had his death been observed by the enemy the event would probably have decided the battle against the Scots, but the English only knew that some brave man-at-arms had fallen. Meantime the other Scottish nobles pressed forward, and found their general dying among several of his faithful esquires and pages, who lay slain around. A stout priest, called William of North Berwick, the chaplain of Douglas, was protecting the body of the wounded patron with a long lance.

"'How fares it, cousin?' said Sinclair, the first Scottish knight who came up to the expiring leader.

“‘Indifferently,’ answered Douglas; ‘but blessed be God, my ancestors have died in fields of battle, not on down beds. I sink fast; but let them still cry my war-cry, and conceal my death from my followers. There was a tradition in our family that a dead Douglas should win a field, and I trust it will be this day accomplished.’

“The nobles did as he had enjoined; they concealed the earl’s body, and again rushed on to the battle, shouting ‘Douglas! Douglas!’ louder than before. The English were weakened by the loss of the brave brothers, Henry and Ralph Percy, both of whom were made prisoners, fighting most gallantly, and almost no man of note amongst the English escaped death or captivity. Hence a Scottish poet has said of the name of Douglas,—

‘Hosts have been known at the dread sound to yield,  
And, Douglas dead, his name hath won the field.’

“Sir Henry Percy became the prisoner of Sir Hugh Montgomery, who obliged him for ransom to build a castle for him at Penoon in Ayrshire. The battle of Otterburn was disastrous to the leaders on both sides—Percy being made captive, and Douglas slain on the field. It has been the subject of many songs and poems, and the great historian Froissart says that, one other action only

excepted, it was the best fought battle of that warlike time."

The gentle King Robert II., too tender-hearted for those fierce times, died two years after Otterburn, and was succeeded in 1390 by his eldest son, whose name was John. It was thought that John was not a lucky name for a king; men remembered how John of England had misgoverned his kingdom, how John Baliol's reign had been unfortunate for Scotland, and how John of France had been captured by Edward III. at Crécy. So John Stewart took the name of his great-grandfather, Robert the Bruce, and ruled as King Robert III. During his reign there was generally peace with England, for a truce had been made after Otterburn, but Border warfare went on, and when a new king, Henry IV., succeeded to the English throne, he invaded Scotland, and besieged the castle of Edinburgh. The Scots tried to support another claimant to the crown of England, and in September 1402 they were defeated at Homildon Hill, on the English side of the Border. There is no need to tell about the battle; you can already guess how the Scots were defeated. The English archers were too strong for the Scottish bowmen: they threw the Scots into confusion, and the English cavalry cut them down.

Robert III. was not a strong king, and the real



ruler for some years was his brother, the Earl of Fife, whom he made Duke of Albany. The Duke of Albany had a long feud with his nephew, David, Duke of Rothesay, the king's eldest son and the heir to the throne. It was Rothesay who brought about the war with England, though he did not



FALKLAND PALACE.

live to see the disaster of Homildon Hill. In March 1402 he died at Falkland, and soon a rumour spread over Scotland that his uncle Albany had murdered him. We do not know anything about his death, but the rumour came to be generally believed, and you will find the story of the

murder in Sir Walter Scott's "Fair Maid of Perth." You will also find in that novel an account of a strange incident of the reign, when thirty men of each of two hostile Highland clans fought a battle or tournament on the North Inch at Perth, in the presence of the king (1396). Only twelve of the sixty fighting men were left alive at the close of the day.

King Robert seems to have suspected that Albany had some share in the death of the Duke of Rothesay, for four years afterwards, in 1406, he sent his second son, Prince James, to be educated in France. Soon after the ship sailed the news reached the old king that it had been captured off Flamborough Head, and that his son had fallen into the hands of the English. The tidings broke the old king's heart, and in April 1406 he died. He had been a weak sovereign, and the land had little rest in his time. Soon after his accession his half-brother, who was known as the "Wolf of Badenoch" had ravaged and burned the city of Elgin and its noble cathedral, and this wicked deed was only slightly punished. Robert probably wished to rule justly and to protect the weak, but he failed to do so, and his people complained bitterly of the misgovernment of the country.

The new king, James I., was a prisoner in England, and his uncle, the Duke of Albany, governed

Scotland as regent. In spite of the foul deed of which, justly or unjustly, he was accused, the people trusted him and spoke of him as stout and strong, and the wisest of living men. He kept the peace with England. The chief battle of his time was fought in Aberdeenshire, not on the Borders, and it was fought between Scotsmen and Scotsmen. Donald, Lord of the Isles, quarrelled



MONUMENT TO THE "WOLF OF BADENOCH," IN  
DUNKELD CATHEDRAL.

with his uncle, the Regent Albany, because Albany would not acknowledge his claim to the earldom of Ross, which Donald considered to belong to his wife. He raised a rebellion, and invaded the mainland of Scotland. The clan Mackay opposed his progress, but were defeated at Dingwall; and he also defeated the Frasers, and marched across Scotland towards Aberdeen, which he intended to plunder. The Earl of Mar and the Provost of

Aberdeen met him at Harlaw, near Inverurie, in July 1411. Donald and his Islesmen were defeated, and the battle was so fierce that its fame spread all over Scotland. We know that, sixty years later, the boys at the grammar school of Haddington used to have mock fights to represent "the red Harlaw." Donald's rebellion was important for two reasons. In the first place, he fought in the name of Henry IV. of England, for, like many other Scottish nobles, he was ready to take the English side when he was offended by his own government; and, in the second place, if he had won the battle of Harlaw he would have tried to rule all the north of Scotland, and probably to bring back the old Scottish speech and customs, which were dying out along the coast, where commerce brought English traders and settlers.

There was one other event of Albany's rule which we should remember—the foundation of the University of St. Andrews in 1411. Universities, or associations of men for the purpose of teaching and of studying, had been growing up in Europe for more than two hundred years, and Scottish students had gone to Oxford and Cambridge and to Paris for instruction which they could not obtain in their own country. The good Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews was determined that Scotsmen who were unable to go to foreign countries should have



some chance of learning at home, and he obtained the consent of the Pope for the foundation of the first Scottish university.

Albany died in 1420, and was succeeded as regent by his son Murdoch, who now became Duke of Albany. Unlike his father, he was a



ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY.

weak ruler, and failed to keep the peace at home or abroad. Henry V. of England was engaged in the conquest of France, and Albany sent an army to the help of the French, under his own son, the Earl of Buchan. At the battle of Baugé, in 1421, the Scots defeated the English, and among

their captives was the Duke of Somerset. This Duke of Somerset is interesting to us because he was the father of a Queen of Scotland.

King James during his English captivity had been carefully educated, and he was, on the whole, well and kindly treated. But he was none the less a prisoner, and spent many weary days longing for freedom and for his own country. One morning he looked out of his prison window, and saw—

“The fairest or the freshest youngë flower  
That ever I saw, methought, before that hour.”

The fair young flower was Joan Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset; and the royal prisoner fell in love with her, and wrote a noble poem about his love—the “King’s Quair” or book. When he was released and returned to Scotland in 1424, he brought her with him as his bride.



*James I.*

## Chapter X.

### JAMES I., JAMES II., AND JAMES III.

JAMES I. came to Scotland determined to rule it well. "I will make the key keep the castle, and the bracken-bush the cow," he said, and he did his best to keep his word. But he was headstrong and hot-tempered, and he was not always wise or always just in his methods, and so he failed to do all the good that he hoped to accomplish. He began by taking vengeance upon the rulers who had misgoverned in his absence. Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his two sons, and some other great men of the realm, were put to death. We do not know the charges brought against them, and the people generally seem to have thought that they were harshly dealt with. Some of the great Highland chiefs were treated in the same way : a Parliament was held at Inverness, and they were tried and imprisoned, and some of them were executed. After this James had to face a Highland rebellion, which he soon suppressed ; and he continued to rule firmly for ten years, and to impose his will upon the nobles.



**James I. seeing for the first time his future Queen.**

*(From the picture by James Drummond, R.S.A., in the  
National Gallery of Scotland.)*



Till near the end of his reign James remained on friendly terms with the English, and although Scotland was now accustomed to look to France and not to England for its models, James was wise enough to attempt to imitate the English Parliament. His ambition was to persuade the country gentlemen to come to Parliament as well as the great nobles, and he passed a law commanding that the gentlemen of every county should send two of their number to Parliament. The king hoped that these representatives of the smaller nobles would support the royal policy, and aid him in lessening the power of the great barons. It was most unfortunate for Scotland that this law soon ceased to be obeyed, and after a little was entirely forgotten. The result was that the Scottish Parliament became merely the tool of the sovereign or of some band of powerful nobles, and never dared to struggle for constitutional liberty as the English Parliament did.

Towards the end of his reign James was asked by the English to desert France and make an alliance with England. The English offered, on this condition, to give up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick-on-Tweed. But James had just married his daughter Margaret to the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI., and he felt that, apart from

this, the tie between Scotland and France was too strong to be rashly severed. He therefore declined the English offer, and soon he made war on England, attempting to capture Roxburgh Castle. He failed to accomplish this, and soon afterwards he met his death. Men whom he had injured had long wished to take his life, and they found their opportunity when James was living in the Blackfriars' Monastery at Perth, in February 1437. The murderers rushed into his room; but the king had some warning, and found time to wrench up a plank of the floor and to hide in an underground chamber. They thought that he had escaped, and were going away, when James, imagining that all danger had passed, called to the queen and her ladies to twist sheets together and pull him up out of the vault. The murderers heard his voice, tore open the floor, and killed him. There is an old tradition that the king owed his chance of hiding to a lady, Catherine Douglas, who thrust her arm across the door in the place of the bolt which had been taken away. If it was so, the brave lady lost her arm in vain, and Scotland's annals were stained by a cruel and wicked deed.



James I. was succeeded by his son, James, a boy of seven years, and Scotland found itself suffering

the woes of the land whose king is a child. The queen took a cruel vengeance upon her husband's murderers, and she did her best for the safety of her son ; but the country was divided between the supporters of two rivals, Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton. Neither of them was a great baron, and it is difficult to understand why they were so important, but it is plain enough that they rendered the country miserable and unsettled by their struggle for the person of the young king. The nominal regent was the Earl of Douglas, an indolent man, who died in 1439, and Livingstone and Crichton combined against his son, William, Earl of Douglas, who was a friend of the boy-king. The Douglasses were the greatest and most powerful family in Scotland, and if the young earl chose to exercise the influence he possessed, he would become the real ruler of the country. Livingstone and Crichton invited the young earl and his brother to visit the king in Edinburgh Castle. When the guests were at dinner, they were startled by the head of a black bull being placed on the table, which was known to be a warning of approaching death. They got up and prepared to defend themselves, but were seized, and after a trial of some sort were beheaded in spite of the king's entreaties. Their fate won the sympathy of the people,

who used to speak a curse upon the scene of the murder :—

“Edinburgh Castle, town and tower,  
God grant you sink for sin,  
And that even for the black dinner  
Earl Douglas got therein.”

The young earl was succeeded by his uncle, who took little interest in public affairs ; but he died in 1443, and was succeeded by his son, William;



EDINBURGH CASTLE.

Earl of Douglas. You will notice that we are paying as much attention to the Douglas family as to the royal house ; and there is good reason for our doing so, for at this time the Douglasses threatened to overshadow the royal power, and to govern a large portion of the country without regard to king or to Parliament. The greatness of his family was fully realized by Earl William. He soon



came to be the chief power in the land, and he increased the fame of his house by an invasion of England, and a victory over the Percies of Northumberland.

When James II. began to rule in person in 1449, he easily got rid of Sir Alexander Livingstone, whom Douglas had permitted to retain some authority. The young king, James of the Fiery Face as he was called, had a hot temper and a strong will, and one of his first public acts was to put Livingstone to death, and to take into favour Crichton, who owed Douglas a bitter enmity. This meant that James was determined to destroy the Douglas power. The manner in which he did so cannot be excused, although there can be no doubt that Earl William was a grave danger to the Crown and to the country. In 1452 James invited the earl to Stirling, where he had a personal interview with the king. Douglas had made a band or covenant with some other nobles to assist each other against the Crown, and James asked him to give up this alliance. He refused to do so, in spite of the king's entreaties, and the two soon came to high words. "By heaven," said James, "if *you* will not break the league, *this* shall," and he stabbed Douglas with his dagger.

The murder was in some ways a blunder as well as a crime, for the dead man's power and influence

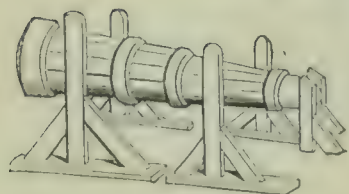
passed to his brother and successor, Earl James, and three years later, in 1455, the king had to subdue the Douglasses by force of arms. He ravaged Douglasdale and Avondale and Ettrick, and captured the castles of Avondale and Abercorn, and through the spring and summer of that year he continued to destroy the strongholds of the Douglasses and their allies. Douglas himself fled to England, and the Scottish Parliament declared him a traitor, and forfeited his estates and all the possessions of his family. The earl was never restored, and was long afterwards captured when fighting on the English side. He died a prisoner in the abbey of Lindores, and other families grew great on the Douglas lands, among them the families of Hamilton and of Scott of Buccleuch. One branch of the Douglas family, which had supported the king against its own chief, grew rich and great. Its head was the Earl of Angus, and his family was known as the Red Douglasses to distinguish it from the old Black Douglasses, of whose ruin we have just told.

James II. lived only five years after the fall of the House of Douglas. The Earl of Douglas had been helped by the Yorkist party in England, and in 1456 James retaliated by invading England in the interest of the House of Lancaster. He remained faithful to the Lancastrians during the

Wars of the Roses, and in 1460, after the Yorkists had gained a great victory, he attempted to wrest from the English the castle of Roxburgh, which his father had besieged just before his murder. At Roxburgh James II. met his death. Gunpowder had been used in warfare for more than a hundred years before this time, and clever men were busy improving the great guns which were beginning to take the place of archery. James was much interested in artillery, and an old Scottish historian tells how he was "more curious than became him or the majesty of a king," and so went too near the guns, and how "his thigh bone was broken in two by a piece of a badly-made gun that broke in the shooting," and "he was stricken to the ground and died hastily thereof."

The story of the siege of Roxburgh does not end with the death of the king. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, the old historian whom we quoted above, goes on to tell a brave little story. When the queen heard that the army was discouraged and thought of abandoning the siege, "she took her young son James, called after his father, the third of that name, and brought him with a stout courage, while every man in the host thought she was mourning and lamenting for her husband.

So, beyond all men's expectations, this noble lady with a goodly and hardy



15th Century Cannon.

countenance exhorted all the chieftains of the army to carry on the siege till the castle was rendered up. The chieftains were not so much moved by the queen's courageous words as ashamed by a woman's hardiness which far surmounted their own, and were compelled on their honour to pursue their enemies to the uttermost of their power. After which the Englishmen could no longer endure the siege, seeing there was no hope of relief or comfort; so after they had given over the house and had departed with lives, and bag and baggage free, the house was demolished to the ground."

James III., the son of this brave lady, proved to be the least warlike of the early Stewarts. He was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the throne in 1460, but the period of his minority was unusually happy and fortunate. It began with the capture of Roxburgh, and within a year afterwards, Berwick-on-Tweed, which the Scots had so often tried to capture, was given up to Scotland by the Lancastrian party in England in return for help against the House of York. The ruler of Scotland during the first years of James's minority was the great Bishop of St. Andrews, James Kennedy, the founder of St. Salvator's College. Unfortunately, Kennedy died in 1465, and there was no great statesman to take his place.



The usual quarrels between great nobles fill up the history of the time, a history not worth telling here. In 1469 James was married to Margaret of Denmark, and her father, King Christian I., promised a great dowry. He was not able to pay it, and he gave the islands of Orkney and Shetland as a pledge for the payment. These islands, for some six centuries a Norwegian colony, had passed into the possession of Denmark through its union with Norway. Christian was never able to pay the dowry, and in 1472 the earldom of Orkney was annexed to the Scottish Crown. In the same year Scotland received from the Pope the honour of an archbishopric, and St. Andrews was chosen as the metropolitan see of Scotland. The archbishops of York could no longer maintain their old pretence of authority over the church in Scotland.

When the young king began to rule he soon showed that he was not fitted for his great office. He was fond of art, and made an architect, Cochrane by name, his great adviser ; and he had a liking for low company, and did not associate with his great nobles. A musician and a tailor were among his chief friends, and the people complained of the influence of these men, and wished that the king's brother, the Duke of Albany, were their sovereign instead. Albany was very ambitious, and he pleased the people, who liked to tell that

“he was very wise and manly, and loved nothing so well as able [that is, strong] men and good horses,” and that the nobles “stood more in awe of him than of the king’s grace.” Lindsay of Pitscottie draws for us a picture of the two men :—

“Albany was a man of middle stature, broad shouldered and well proportioned in all his mem-



RUINS OF THE CATHEDRAL, ST. ANDREWS.

bers, with great eyes and a very awful countenance when he pleased to show himself unto unfriends. But the king’s grace was one that loved solitariness, and desired never to hear of wars or the game thereof, and was covetous rather of gaining gold than of winning the hearts of his barons.” There

was a third brother, the Earl of Mar, who sided with Albany, and who soon died.

James drifted into war with Edward IV. of England, and this gave Albany the chance of attempting to gain the crown. He promised to rule Scotland as Edward's vassal, and Edward sent an army into Scotland to support him. When James raised a force to meet the English, he was unwise enough to take with him Cochrane and his other favourites. The nobles resented this, and before the campaign began they put to death these unfortunate favourites. The leader of the nobles was the Earl of Angus, "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," according to the well-known story which you will find in Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather." The war had no great results. The Scots lost Berwick for ever, but Albany never became King Alexander, as he styled himself. He and his ally, the exiled Earl of Douglas, were defeated at Lochmaben in July 1484. Albany fled to France, and was killed in 1485, leaving a son of whom we shall hear again. Peace was made with England at the accession of Richard III., and continued till the end of James's reign.

The unfortunate king still governed badly, and many complaints were made of his greed and covetousness, and of his love of favourites. At last a number of the nobles rebelled, seized

the person of the king's eldest son, James, Duke of Rothesay, and forced him to appear in arms against his father. A battle was fought on June 11, 1488, at Sauchieburn, close to the memorable field of Bannockburn. King James was defeated and compelled to flee. He sought shelter in a mill near the battlefield, and was murdered there the same night. Tradition says that he told the miller's wife that he had been her king that morning, and asked her to find a priest to whom he might confess, and that the woman went out and shouted, "A priest for the king." A stranger who was passing by said, "I am a priest;" he entered the cottage, stabbed the king to the heart, and disappeared. The young prince was immediately recognized as James IV.



*Seal of Mary of Gueldres, mother of James III.*



## Chapter XI.

### THE GOLDEN AGE.

WE have spoken so much of wars and of internal strife that you may carry away a wrong impression of the condition of the Scottish people in the Middle Ages. They had, of course, to do without many things which we now regard as necessities of life, and they were liable to suffer from calamities such as we have never known; just as we are subject to disasters—railway accidents, for instance—that were unknown to them. But it is not fair to compare their life with ours; we ought rather to compare life in Scotland with the life of the people who lived in other countries at the same time. A distinguished Scottish historian, who has devoted much attention to this subject, tells us that, in his opinion, about the time which we have now reached “the Scottish peasantry enjoyed life on easier terms than those of the same class in any other country in Europe;” and a famous Scotsman who lived in the reign of James IV., and who had lived much in France, said, that while the King of France had more

magnificence than the King of Scotland, the Scottish people were happier than the French. They seem also to have been happier than the poorer classes in England, for while the English peasants more than once rose in rebellion, murdered their lords, and even threatened the government, Scottish peasants never took part in any movement of this kind, and we have many proofs of the happy and friendly relations between them and the nobles.

In the sixteenth century, which we have now reached, we have numerous indications of wealth and prosperity in Scotland. Its trade was so important that we find cities in the Low Countries striving for the privilege of dealing with goods going to and from Scotland. There was not much trade with England; but even if the two countries had been at peace, Scotland would have traded more with France and the Low Countries than with England, for England produced very little that Scotsmen required. Scottish commerce with France and with the Low Countries was so great that a navy was built to protect it.

A Spanish ambassador who visited Scotland in 1513 found the country prosperous, and wrote home about its stone houses, with doors, glass windows, and chimneys, and told of the Italian and French furniture which rich men possessed. We

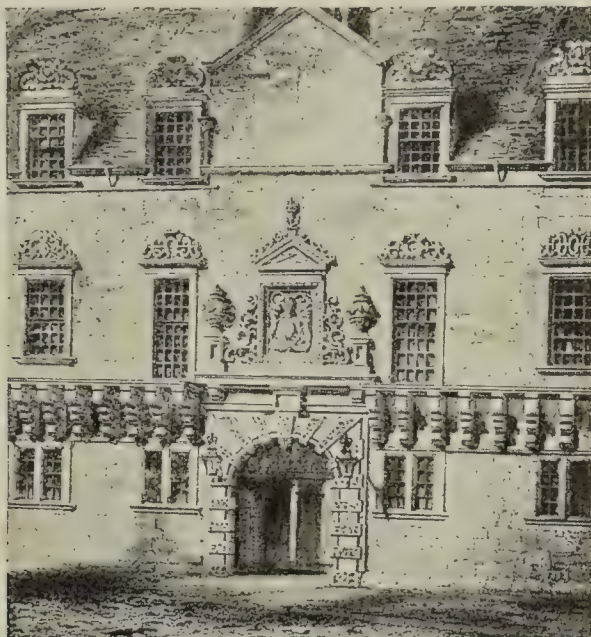
know, too, that great and noble churches and monasteries, strong castles, and beautiful palaces were built in Scotland, and that three universities were endowed, in the fifteenth century—St. Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1495. The richest of them, at the time of which we are



KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

writing, was Aberdeen. It was founded by William Elphinstone, the greatest Bishop of Aberdeen, and it received gifts not only from its founder and from King James IV., but also from people of humble station. These gifts show us that it was possible to make and to keep considerable sums of money in mediæval Scotland.

It was also possible to spend money, and laws were passed to prevent the people from spending too much on dress and on food. Men who had less than a certain income were forbidden to buy silk for their wives' gowns or costly furs, and the com-



GLASGOW UNIVERSITY (OLD COLLEGE) MAIN ENTRANCE.

mon people were forbidden to have more than three courses at a meal, except on great occasions. All this shows us that there was wealth in the land; and we know also that it was customary in Scotland, as elsewhere, to take many holidays, and to hold revels which cost both time and money.



You will find a description of some of these revels in Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Abbot."

The reign of James IV. was the time to which, in after years, Scotsmen looked back in much the same way as they looked back to the happy period before the War of Independence. It was not entirely a time of peace, for it began and it closed with warfare; but there was a considerable period of truce, and even of friendship, with England. At the very beginning of the reign, when England and Scotland were supposed to be at peace, the seamen of the two nations were fighting each other. Each country was gradually building a navy, and each navy wished to show itself better than the other. So when a great Scottish sailor, Sir Andrew Wood, with two ships, met five English vessels in the Firth of Forth, he fought and vanquished them; and when some more English ships came to restore the honour of the English navy, they were captured by the Scots.

Richard III. of England (the brother of Edward IV., and the wicked uncle who murdered the princes in the Tower), had by this time been slain at Bosworth, and Henry VII. was King of England. A worthless pretender, Perkin Warbeck, professed to be the Duke of York (one of the boys murdered by Richard III.), and James IV. adopted his cause, married him to the Lady

Katherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and invaded England on his behalf in 1496. It was merely a Border warfare—there was no great battle; and in 1497 James and Henry made peace.

We have now come to the most notable event in the reign of James IV.—the marriage which brought about the union of the crowns of England and Scotland. James wanted to marry a princess of Spain, and twice refused an English marriage alliance. But in 1501 Henry VII. acknowledged the position of the King of Scots as an independent sovereign, and James agreed to marry the Princess Margaret, the eldest daughter of the King of England. The marriage took place at Holyrood in August 1503, and was celebrated as “the union of the Thistle and the Rose.” For the rest of the reign of Henry VII. there was peace between England and Scotland, and James was able to devote himself to the important work of establishing the royal power in the Western Islands—an undertaking which had been interrupted by his invasion of England, but in which he was ultimately successful.

Even before the death of his father-in-law, in 1509, there were signs of trouble between King



*Warship of the time of James IV*



### News of Flodden.

*(From the painting by W. How, R.S.A., in the Municipal Buildings, Edinburgh.  
By permission.)*

James and the English, for the Scots declined to give up their ancient alliance with France. When Henry VIII. succeeded matters grew worse. James believed that his brother-in-law was retaining property which had been left by his father to Queen Margaret. There was fighting on the Borders, and the two navies began again to come to blows when they met. A Scottish sailor, Sir Andrew Barton, was attacked by some English vessels in 1511, and was slain, and his ships were captured. Henry VIII. refused to apologize, and called Barton a pirate. This greatly irritated James, for he was much interested in the navy, and had just built a ship, called the *Great Michael*, so large that men said that the woods of Fife had been laid waste to build it.

But all these causes of quarrel were small compared with the fact that Henry VIII. had joined a great European league. It was called the Holy League because it was formed by the Pope, and its object was to crush France. James was much alarmed, fearing that if France were crushed Scotland would be at the mercy of England; and when he found that he could not turn Henry from his purpose, he determined to go to war. The Queen of France urged him, as her knight and defender, to break a lance for her on English soil, and James undertook to do so. His best friends



did not share his alarm regarding France, and urged him to keep the peace. The wisest counsellor he possessed, the saintly Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, besought him to delay, and not to rush into war. The story of King James's rashness is told in Sir Walter Scott's poem "Marmion," where you will find all about the two mysterious warnings which the king was supposed to have received before he entered on the campaign.

The younger nobles were all for war, and in August 1513 James led across the Border a great army of Lowlanders, Highlanders, and men of the Isles. He took up a strong position on Flodden Edge, but he failed to take advantage of his opportunities and to attack the Earl of Surrey and the English on their march. By this time artillery had become even more important to an army than archery, and the English were greatly superior in both. So the Scottish attack failed, except on the left, where the Borderers were victorious, but they immediately began to plunder, and gave no aid to the rest of the army. In the end the Scots collected in one great ring.

" But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,  
 Though charging knights as whirlwinds go,  
 Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,  
 Unbroken was the ring ;

The stubborn spearmen still made good  
Their dark, impenetrable wood,  
Each stepping where his comrade stood  
The instant that he fell.  
No thought was there of dastard flight ;  
Linked in the serried phalanx tight,  
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,  
As fearlessly and well,  
Till utter darkness closed her wing  
O'er their thin host and wounded king."

Thus does Sir Walter Scott describe the close of the fight ; and another Scottish poet tells how the news was brought to Edinburgh of a defeat which brought no shame with it, and how well the dead king and his soldiers had fought :---

"No one failed him. He is keeping  
Royal state and semblance still ;  
Knight and noble lie around him,  
Cold on Flodden's fatal hill.  
Of the brave and gallant-hearted,  
Whom you sent with prayers away,  
Not a single man departed  
From his monarch yesterday.

"Few there were when Surrey halted,  
And his weary host withdrew ;  
None but dying men around me  
When the English trumpet blew."

The battle of Flodden is not to be ranked with Carham or with Bannockburn. Scotland had lost

her best and bravest, and in numberless Scottish homes there was mourning and the bitter cry that "The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away;" but Flodden left no permanent results, and did not affect the later history of the relations between Scotland and England.

King James was succeeded by his year-old son, who became James V. He had a troubled minority, into the history of which we need not enter.



*Margaret Tudor.*

Henry VIII. hoped to influence Scotland through his sister, Queen Margaret, the mother of the young king; and at first it seemed as if he were to be successful, for she married the Earl of Angus, and the Douglasses had often intrigued with England. But Margaret quarrelled with her husband, and the French influence soon came to be very strong. The Duke of Albany (son of the Albany of whom we spoke in the last chapter) had been educated in France, and had lived there during the reign of his cousin, James IV. He now came to Scotland, and was made regent, and Margaret sometimes supported him against her husband and her brother. Albany, of course, favoured the French alliance, and during his rule the English made an unusually cruel and barbarous invasion of Scotland, in the course of which they burned the town of Jedburgh and ravaged Teviotdale.

After some years Albany returned to France, and Angus governed Scotland until, in 1528, the young king revolted against his tyranny, and began to rule in person. His first act was to drive Angus out of Scotland, and he never forgave the Douglas family for their conduct during his minority.



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

James V., like his father, was a popular sovereign, and was known as the "Commons' king." There are many stories of his wandering about the country in disguise, and finding out what his people thought, and meeting strange adventures. You will find one such story in Sir Walter Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake." He wished to



give protection and justice to all his subjects, and he improved the legal system (which his father had also done), and established the College of Justice, or Court of Session, which is still the highest court of justice in Scotland. He was interested in literature and in art and architecture, and he greatly improved the royal palaces, especially Falkland and Linlithgow. He brought good order into the Border country, and subdued Liddesdale, hanging a famous Border laird, "Johnnie Armstrong," whose fate evoked much sympathy, and has been commemorated in a ballad. The Western Isles had become less settled during his minority, and James paid some visits to them and dealt severely with those who opposed the royal authority. In the history of the Hebrides the reigns of James IV. and James V. are a very important period.



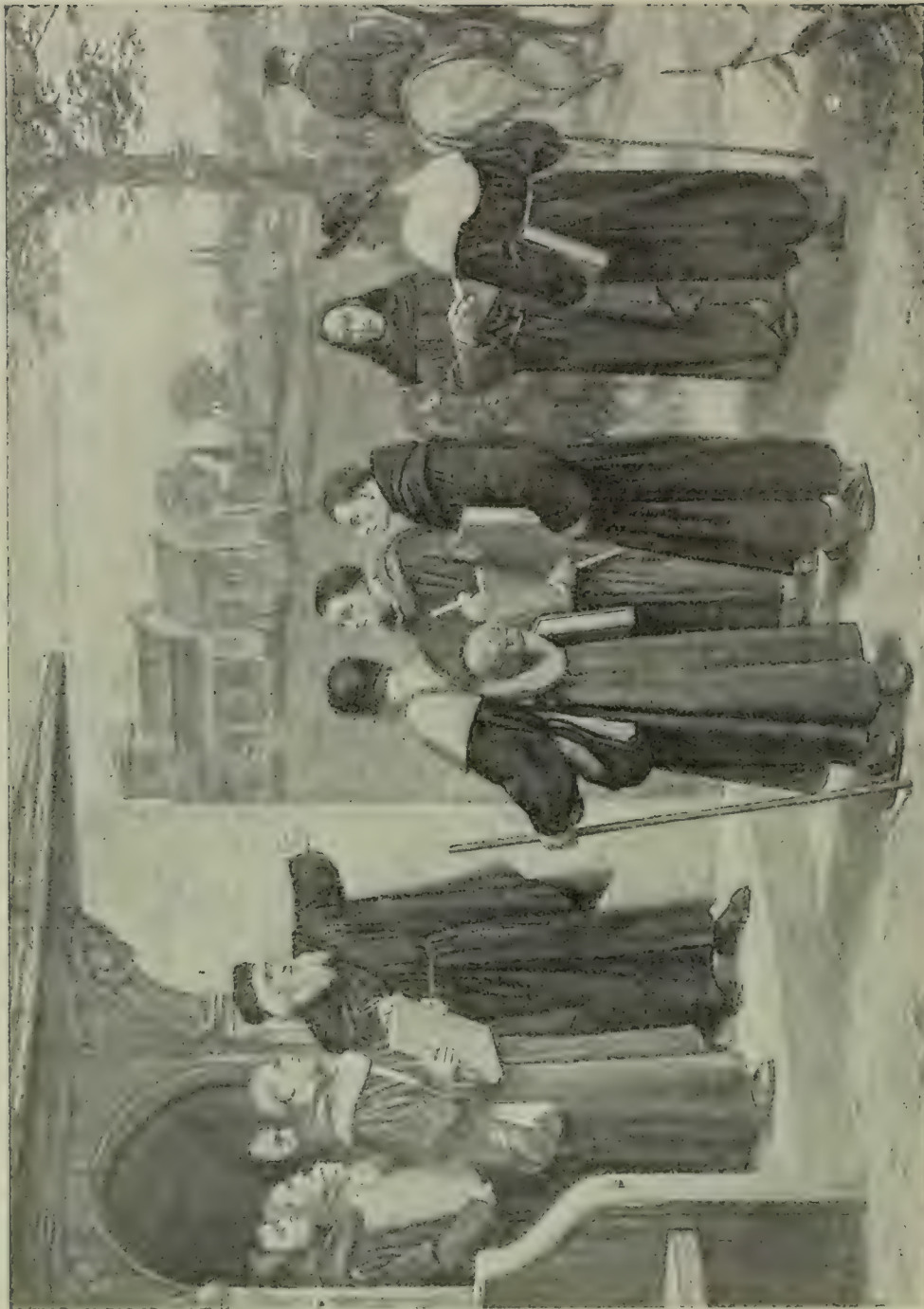
FLODDEN.

## Chapter XII.

### THE REFORMATION.

THE later portion of the reign of James V. saw the beginning of a new influence in Scottish history—an influence which was to change the whole face of the country, to unite Scotland in sympathy with its old enemy, England, and to sever it from its ancient ally, France.

Scotland, from the days of Malcolm Canmore, had always been obedient to the Roman Church, and in an early code of laws, largely borrowed from England, we find the statement that heretics ought to be burned. For a long period there do not seem to have been many heretics to burn, but about the time that John Wycliffe was preaching heretical doctrines in England we find the Scottish Parliament making new laws for the treatment of Scottish heretics. In the reign of James I. it ordained in 1425 that heretics should be punished as the church commanded—that is, by burning—and that the royal officers should help the bishops to carry out the sentence. Even before this law was passed, an English Lollard, or follower



WYCLIFFE, THE "MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION," SENDING OUT PREACHERS.  
(From the picture by W. F. Yeames, R.A. By permission of Messrs. Henry Graves and Co.)

of Wycliffe, was burned at Perth in 1407, and some years after it was passed a heretic from Bohemia suffered a similar fate. We do not hear of heresy again until the reign of James IV., when some Ayrshire heretics called the Lollards of Kyle were tried, but were saved from punishment by the intercession of the king, who thought them mere wild dreamers, unlikely to prove any real danger to the church.

But meanwhile many important events were happening, and the minds of men were being prepared to receive new ideas. The discovery of the New World in the reign of James IV. entirely altered men's ideas about the earth on which they lived. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the reign of James II., scholars had spread over Europe who despised the old learning of the universities, and said that men ought to study new subjects, and that boys ought to be taught differently. The invention of printing, which reached Scotland in the reign of James IV., helped to extend the new ideas, and also caused a change in men's views about books and reading. The use of gunpowder brought about a revolution in men's ideas about warfare and the art of war. The fifty years which preceded the battle of Flodden had been a time when all the old ideas in almost every department of life and thought



were being overturned. Scotland was now closely in touch with France, and Scottish merchants and Scottish seamen and Scottish students travelled far and wide, and learned what men were saying and thinking in other countries; and so Scotland shared in the general unsettling of men's minds which prepared the way for the great change.

The great change itself began in Germany, where in 1517 Martin Luther raised the standard of revolt against certain doctrines of the Roman Church, and his teaching quickly spread into Scotland. Within eight years from the day when Luther nailed his *theses* or theological propositions to a church door at Wittemberg, there were so many of his followers in Scotland that a new law was passed to suppress them. In 1528 their leader, Patrick Hamilton, was burned to death at St.



*Martin Luther.*

Andrews, and he was not the only victim. King James had no intention of permitting heresy in his dominions. While these martyrs were suffering in Scotland, Henry VIII. of England, although he hated the new or Protestant views as much as did James V., took the opportunity of a quarrel with the Pope to make himself head of the Church of England, and seized the great possessions of the monasteries.

From the time when James V. began to reign in person there had been a truce with England, and Henry VIII. now made an attempt to obtain his nephew's support in his opposition to the Papacy. He desired James to declare himself head of the Church of Scotland, and pointed out that he might become very rich through the spoil of the Scottish monasteries. But the English alliance of James IV. had not been so successful as to tempt James V. to break with France, and he held his own religious faith too strongly to follow Henry's advice and defy the Pope.

In 1537 he married the Princess Madeleine of France, and thus strengthened the ancient bonds between France and Scotland. The young queen died six months after her wedding, and not only did James determine to make a second French marriage, but he married a lady for whose hand Henry—now a widower for the third time—was also a suitor. This was Mary of Guise, a member of a great French family distinguished for its devotion to the Roman Church. Thus James definitely declined to follow his uncle's advice, and Henry, after making some vain attempts to persuade James to visit England, where he hoped to kidnap him, sent the exiled Earl of Angus to invade Scotland, the ally of France, with which Henry was now quarrelling. The ravages of Angus were followed by a more

serious invasion under the Duke of Norfolk, but he did little more than burn Roxburgh and Kelso.

James found unusual difficulties in raising a force to meet this invasion. The nobles said that the war was in the interests of France, and that they feared a repetition of the disaster of Flodden Field; and they disliked a favourite called Sir Oliver Sinclair, whom the king trusted. These excuses only partly explain the refusal to defend



*Cardinal Beaton.*

the country; there was also gradually growing up among the people a feeling that it would be best for Scotland to give up the alliance with France and to follow England in her opposition to the Papacy. This feeling was, of course, not shared by James or by his great counsellor, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and they succeeded in collecting an army, which marched to the Borders. The king did not accompany the force, and when they were within sight of the enemy Sinclair produced a letter from the king making him commander-in-chief. The army would not obey him; and though the soldiers fought bravely when attacked, they fought without a leader and without a plan, and were easily defeated at Solway Moss (November 1542).

The king, who was in bad health, went to his beloved palace of Falkland to die. His two

young sons had died in the preceding year, and as he lay on his deathbed at Falkland the news came that on the 8th of December a daughter was born to him at Linlithgow. The words in which Pitscottie tells the story are so striking that we quote them here : “ ‘Adieu,’ he said, ‘farewell. It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass.’ And so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spoke little from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords and his face unto the wall.” Six days later, “with a little smile of laughter,” and a greeting to the nobles who stood by his bed, James V. breathed his last.

The prophecy of the dying king was, in its literal sense, not fulfilled ; for the lass who, he thought, would carry the crown of Scotland into another family, was to marry a Stewart, and her son was to be the first Stewart king of Great Britain and Ireland. But there is another sense in which we may take the words. The old Scotland, with its ancient French alliance, its constant warfare with England, its loyalty to the Roman Church, did pass with this lass. Mary Stewart was the last sovereign of a separate independent Scotland, the last ruler of a Scotland which professed obedience to Rome, and the last who received French aid against an English foe.

No regents in the whole of Scottish history had



so difficult a task as those who ruled for the infant Queen of Scots. Hitherto safety had lain in the alliance with France, and those who in former minorities had intrigued with England were traitors and rebels. But now the deep influence of religious feeling was overcoming the old traditions of national hatred and of national friendship. The Protestant party hated Catholic France and loved Protestant England, and their ranks were increased by other causes than the natural growth of Protestant doctrine. The nobles had not welcomed the suggestion of Henry VIII. that the Scottish monasteries should be destroyed, for the wealth of the monasteries would have gone to the king, and would have strengthened the power of the Crown. But if the destruction came during a minority, the nobles would be able to enrich themselves, and this fact made some of them eager to support an English alliance and to follow the example of England.

Had Henry VIII. acted either wisely or honestly, the victory of the English party in Scotland might have come at once. The queen-mother was, naturally, determined to hold by France and the Roman Church ; but she was not regent, and had little power. The regent, the Earl of Arran, agreed to a marriage scheme by which the infant Queen of Scots was to marry the Prince of Wales, after-

wards Edward VI. At the same time, the new doctrines received great assistance from a law permitting the translation of the Bible into the language of the people. It seemed as if Scotland were now to tend towards England and Protestantism. But Henry was not satisfied with the hopeful prospects of his policy ; he wanted to obtain possession of the young queen, and by this and other demands he so exasperated the Scots that the two countries drifted into war, and in 1544 the Earl of Hertford made an invasion of Scotland by sea, burned Edinburgh, and ravaged the Lothians. The cruel massacres which disgraced his expedition were not likely to reconcile the Scots to Henry's policy, and the "English wooing" became a byword. So cruel were the English soldiers that they offended even the Earl of Angus, who



*Melrose Abbey.*

had just been restored to his estates. An English force ravaged Melrose, and desecrated the tombs of the Douglas family in the abbey. The result was a battle at Ancrum Moor, in which Arran and Angus defeated the English. Hertford again invaded Scotland, this time by land, and Angus returned to his treacherous league with the enemy.

If England was growing more hateful, and an English alliance becoming impossible for the time,

the reformed religion was none the less making way, and while the war was in progress we have to record a cruel deed on each side. On the 1st March 1546 a Scottish Protestant, George Wishart, was put to death in front of the castle of St. Andrews by order of Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the French party, and the foremost defender of the Roman Church in Scotland. On the 29th May the death of Wishart was avenged by the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and the castle of St. Andrews fell into the hands of the English party. A year later it was captured by the regent, with French assistance; and its defenders, including John Knox, who had joined the garrison after the murder of Beaton, were sent as galley slaves to France. The war with England continued. Henry VIII. died in January 1547, but the Earl of Hertford, who became Duke of Somerset and Protector of England, again invaded Scotland, and on the 10th September fought at Pinkiecleuch, near Edinburgh, the last battle between England and Scotland. He won a victory, but gained nothing; for the Scots finally decided to marry their little queen to the eldest son of Henry II. of France. In August 1548 she was placed under the charge of Henry II. to be educated with the royal children of France. When England and France made peace in 1550, Scotland was included in the treaty.





Queen Mary Setting Sail for France.

(From the painting by W. Hole, R.S.A., in the Municipal Buildings, Edinburgh. By permission.)



Queen Mary remained in France for thirteen years, and during that time many important events occurred in Scotland. Her mother, Mary of Guise, succeeded Arran as regent in 1554, and made one great and final effort to prevent English influence from replacing the old friendship with France, and to save the Roman Church in Scotland from destruction. She attempted to help France in a fresh struggle with England, but the Scots refused to do more than defend the Borders, and soon the queen-regent was compelled to seek help from France instead of offering it. John Knox had returned to Scotland in 1555, and his preaching so greatly strengthened the Protestants that in 1557 they formed themselves into a body called "the Congregation of the Lord." The nobles who adopted the Protestant faith were the leaders of this body, and were known as the Lords of the Congregation. They were prepared to fight, if necessary, for the Protestant cause; they regarded the French alliance as the greatest obstacle in their path; and when Elizabeth became Queen of England in 1558 they looked to her for assistance. Some of the Lords of the Congregation formed a band or alliance which developed into the National Covenant for the suppression of Roman Catholicism in Scotland. Their main object was religious, but they also believed that France

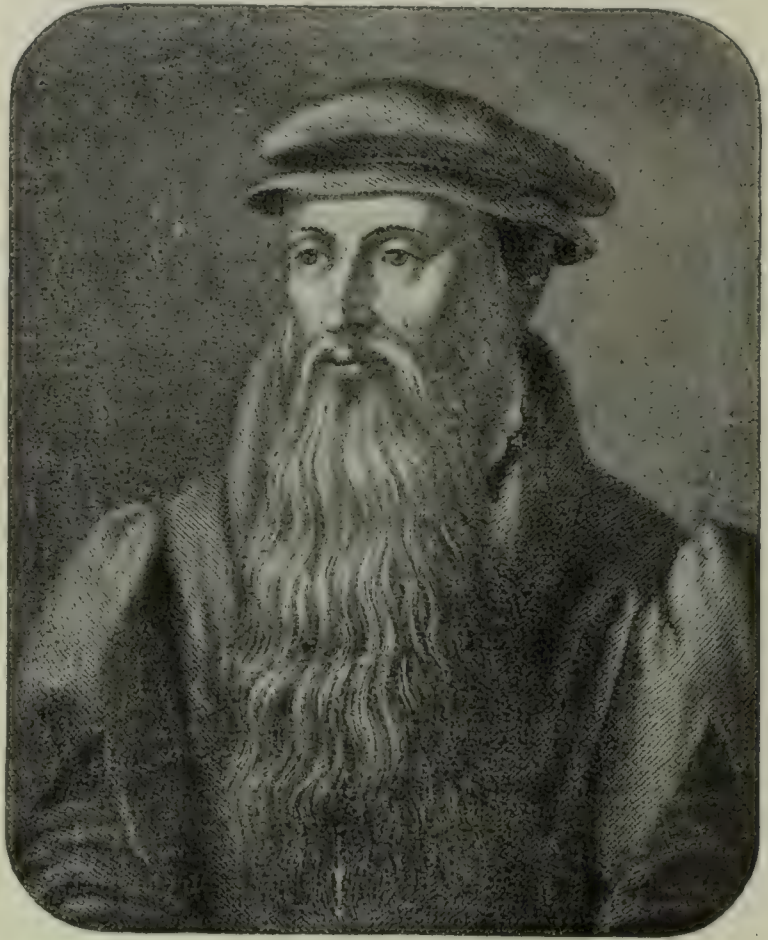
was now a greater danger to Scottish independence than England, and some documents which Queen Mary signed, as a bride of sixteen, indicate that their alarm was not entirely unfounded.

There had been comparatively little religious persecution in Scotland, but in April 1558 an old priest called Walter Mill, who had become a



THE HOUSE TRADITIONALLY KNOWN AS "JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE," EDINBURGH.

Protestant, was burned at St. Andrews, and in 1559 the regent began to take severe measures for the suppression of heresy. The result was a famous riot at Perth in the early summer of 1559, when, after a sermon by John Knox, the great religious houses were destroyed. An attempt at conciliation resulted only in creating a belief on each side that the other was guilty of bad faith,



JOHN KNOX.

*(The portrait by Hondius, rejected by Carlyle, but now generally accepted as genuine.)*

and the destruction of the monasteries went on all over the country. The old church had failed to maintain the respect of the people, and its own loyal members admitted that there was great need for reform. The lives of the clergy and especially of some of the bishops were regarded with grave suspicion, and we know that some of them were guilty of gross immoralities. Indignation at the conduct of the monks, a belief that the whole monastic system was useless and ought to be abolished, and a desire to share in the spoils of the monasteries, all combined to bring about their destruction.

The reformers grew in numbers and in strength, and in January 1560 they besieged the regent in Edinburgh Castle. They had asked and received aid from Elizabeth of England, to whose crown Queen Mary claimed to be the rightful heir. The queen-regent obtained assistance from France, and the English fleet failed in an attack upon Leith. But the regent was now seriously ill, and her death, in June 1560, gave the victory to the Protestant party. Peace was made on condition that both the French and the English troops should be withdrawn from Scotland, and there was now no power which could prevent Knox and the Lords of the Congregation from establishing the new faith.

A Parliament was immediately summoned in the



*Seal of Queen Mary.*





ST. ANDREWS FROM THE HARBOUR.

(The ruins of the Cathedral are seen on the left, and those of the Castle on the extreme right of the picture.)

name of the young queen and her husband, now Francis II. of France. It abolished the power of the Pope, forbade the celebration of the mass in Scotland, and published a creed or confession of faith which was to be the religion of the country. It must not be supposed that the Protestant leaders, any more than their opponents, aimed at freedom of thought. They simply desired to set up one system in the place of another, to establish one powerful church instead of another powerful church. They were prepared to persecute to the death all who opposed them, just as they themselves had been persecuted to the death. Scotland was only entering upon the long religious conflict which was, after many years and much suffering, to end in toleration and freedom. Meanwhile, if there was any one who thought that a man's conscience ought to be free to choose his religion, he was regarded as a dreamer of dreams and an enemy to the faith. Neither in the new church nor in the old was there any place for such a man.

*Your richt gud sister and kinsman*  
*MARY*

*Signature of Queen Mary.*

## Chapter XIII.

### QUEEN MARY.

ON August 19, 1561, Mary Stewart landed at Leith. Her husband, the young French king, had died in the preceding December, and now his widow came to rule her own country. She had been well educated in France. She was beautiful and attractive, and she was a strict Roman Catholic. Although she began by publishing a proclamation that, until Parliament should meet, she did not intend to interfere with the religion she had found in Scotland, there can be no doubt that she wished to bring Scotland once more under the Roman obedience. The Protestants were equally determined to maintain the settlement which (without the queen's consent) they had just made, and John Knox urged that Mary should not be allowed to attend the services of her own church within her own palace. This privilege, however, the queen was able to se-



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.  
*(From the portrait in possession of the Earl of Morton.)*



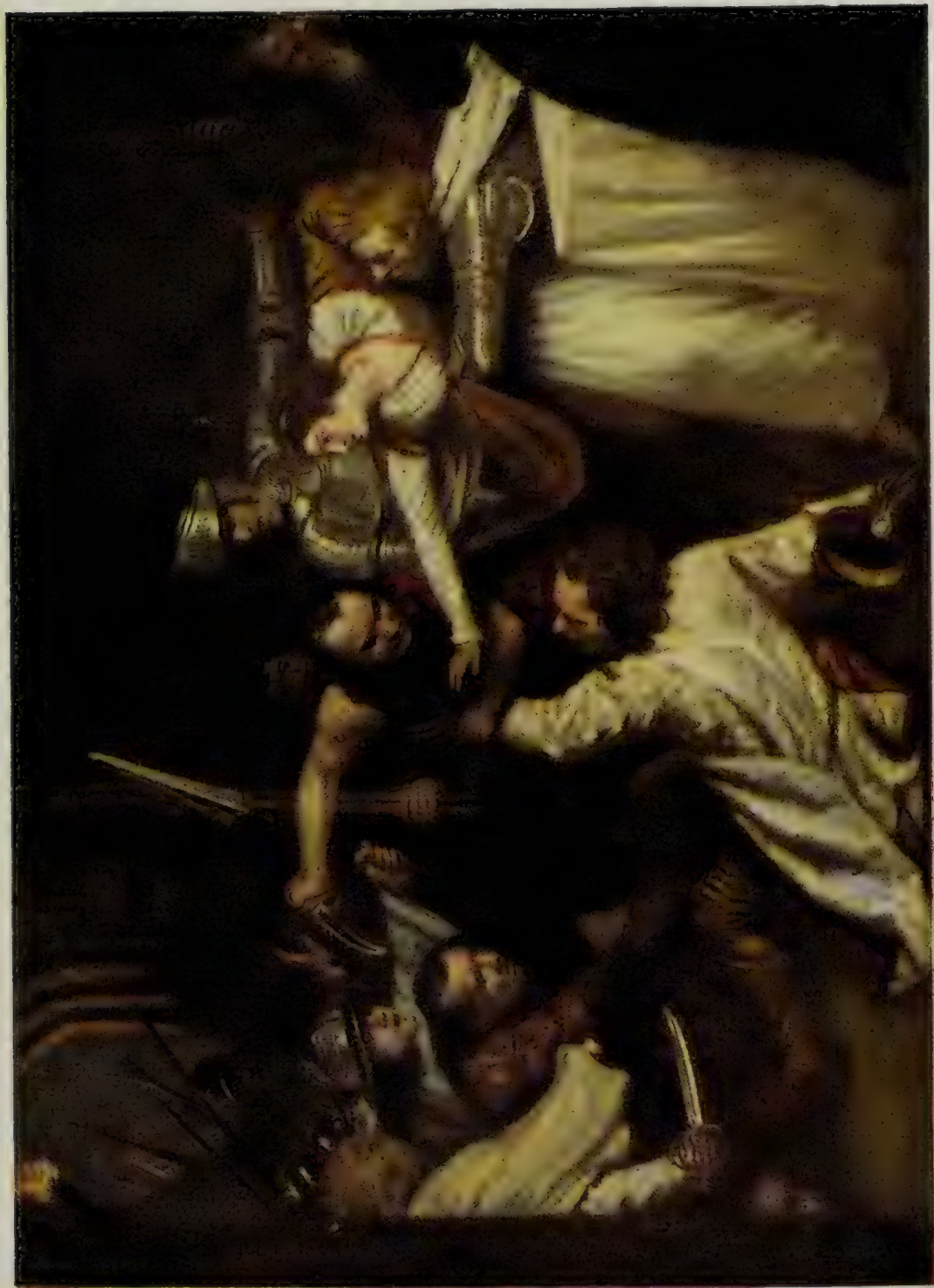
cure, although she was not always powerful enough to protect from insult the priests who said mass for her.

Mary was naturally inclined towards the French alliance, but she was not able to do much in this direction. Her principal advisers, and especially her half-brother, the Earl of Murray, were strongly in favour of friendship with England, and the queen herself was desirous of being recognized as Elizabeth's heir, and was therefore compelled to keep on good terms with the English queen. Murray and many others of the nobles were the paid agents of Elizabeth, and Mary never knew whom she could trust. At the beginning of her reign she entrusted Murray with the government; and, under his influence, she suppressed the Earl of Huntly, the most powerful of the Catholic nobility, and she gave up the idea of marrying, as her second husband, a relation of the King of Spain, the champion of Roman Catholicism in Europe. For the first four years everything went on peacefully, but Mary was making little or no progress towards the revival of her own religion.



*Queen Mary's Signet  
Ring.*

Her troubles began in earnest with her second marriage. She fell in love with her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, the grandson of Margaret Tudor (widow of James IV.) by her marriage with the



**The Murder of Rizzio.**

*(From the picture by John Opie, R.A., in the Art Gallery of the Corporation of London.)*

Earl of Angus. The following table will make it clear who he was :—

James IV. <i>m.</i> Margaret Tudor <i>m.</i> Earl of Angus.	
James V.	Margaret <i>m.</i> Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox.
Mary.	Henry, Lord Darnley.

In July 1565 the queen and Darnley were married in the chapel at Holyrood, and the Earl of Murray, seeing that his authority would now be gone, raised a rebellion. He was compelled to flee to England, where Elizabeth, while openly repudiating him, privately assisted him. Mary soon found that her husband was both vicious and foolish, and she declined to give him any voice in the government. Her Italian secretary, David Rizzio, warned her against Darnley's ambition of becoming the ruler of Scotland, and Darnley entered into a plot for the murder of Rizzio. Elizabeth and the exiled Murray joined the conspiracy. Darnley was promised that if the plot succeeded he would be given the power of a king, which Mary had refused him. All the other conspirators hated Darnley; and it is quite certain that they were deceiving him, and that what they intended to do was to imprison the queen and rule the country themselves.

Part of the plot was carried out successfully.



One March evening, in the year 1566, Queen Mary, who was in bad health, had a small supper party in her private rooms in Holyrood, and among the members of her household who were present was David Rizzio. Suddenly the Earl of



QUEEN MARY'S BEDROOM, HOLYROOD PALACE.

Morton and the Earl of Ruthven, and some other nobles, rushed into the room with men in armour, and Darnley entered about the same time by another door. They seized Rizzio, murdered him in the queen's presence, and imprisoned Mary in her bedroom. The Earl of Murray





Queen Mary a Prisoner after Carberry.

*Painted by W. H. R. S. L., in the Museum Building, Edinburgh. By permission.*

appeared in Edinburgh the same day, and next morning he had an interview with his sister, but did nothing to help her.

So far, the plot had succeeded ; but the rebels made the mistake of allowing Mary to see her husband, and she soon persuaded him that he would suffer as much as she would if the rebels were allowed to execute their full intentions. The following night Mary and Darnley escaped from Holyrood and fled to Dunbar. Loyal nobles gathered round them, and they were able to return to Edinburgh in triumph. The Rizzio conspirators were banished, and Darnley solemnly declared before the Privy Council that he had not been concerned in the plot in any way. Everybody knew that this was a falsehood, and from this moment there was a blood-feud between Darnley and Morton and the other nobles whom he had deserted and betrayed.



*Monogram of Queen Mary and Darnley, in Edinburgh Castle.*

In June 1566 a son was born to Mary in Edinburgh Castle, and for a few weeks afterwards she and Darnley lived on more friendly terms ; but soon the disagreements between them became so violent, and Darnley's conduct created so much indignation, that the leading nobles proposed to the queen that she should divorce him. This she declined to do, and shortly afterwards Darnley fell seriously ill. Mary went to Glasgow to visit him

on his sickbed, and when he was well enough, brought him to Edinburgh. He was not taken to Holyrood, but to a house on the outskirts of the town called Kirk of Field (where the buildings of Edinburgh University now stand). Husband and wife seemed to be completely reconciled, and were frequently together. On the night of February 9, 1567, Mary left Darnley, to attend a ball in honour of the wedding of one of her attendants. While her guests were dancing at Holyrood the house of Kirk of Field was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley's body and the body of his servant were found in the garden. The Earl of Morton, who had been banished for his share in the Rizzio murder, returned secretly from England, and was in Edinburgh at the time of the murder.

Who had murdered Darnley? It was at once believed—and no one has ever doubted it since—that the Earl of Bothwell, a noble who had hitherto been loyal to Mary, was the principal person in the conspiracy. It is equally certain that Morton was likewise concerned in it, and long afterwards he was put to death for his share in the murder. Before long, men began to whisper that the queen herself was in the plot, and the question of her guilt has been discussed and debated ever since. Bothwell obtained for a time the support of some

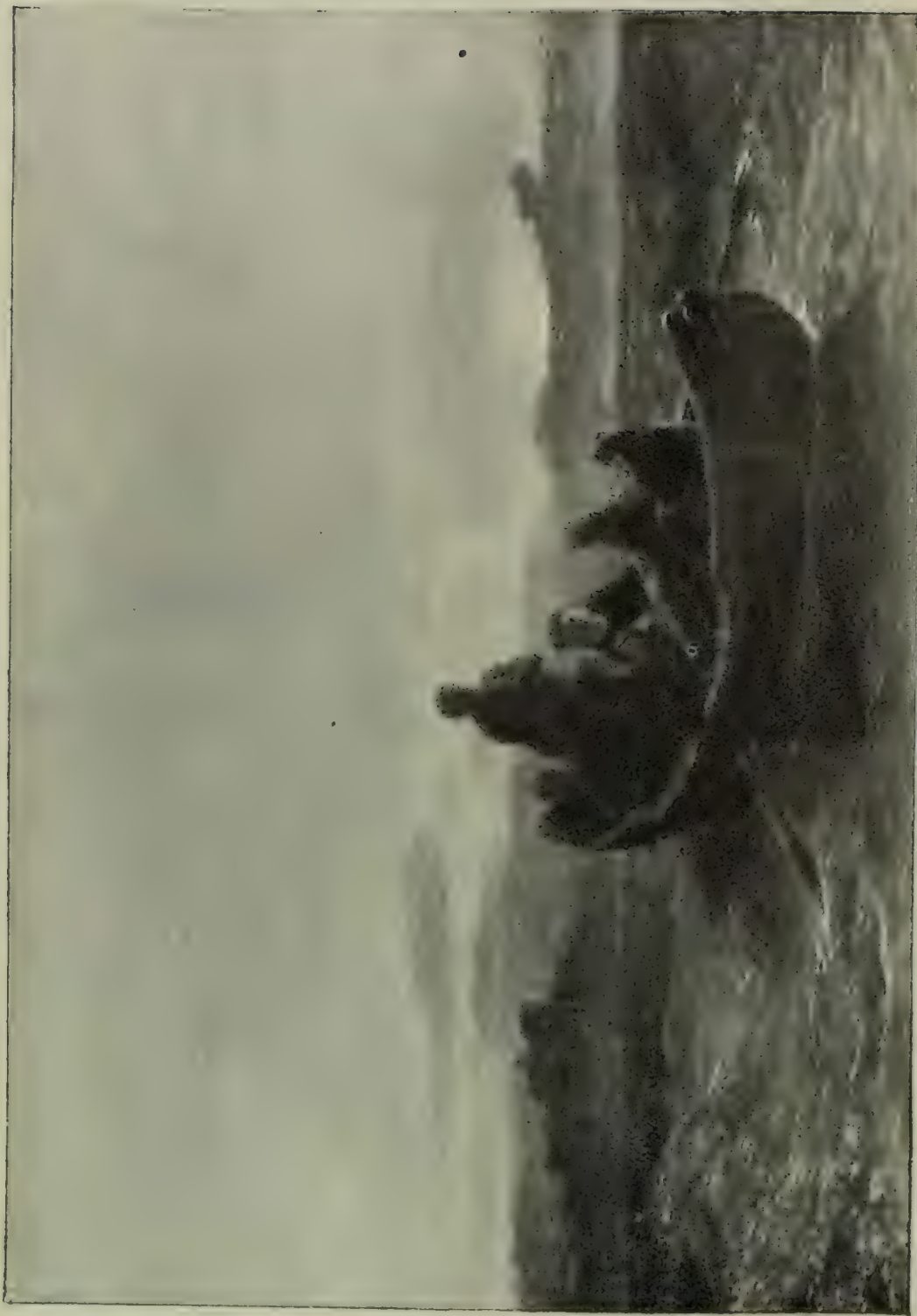
of the nobles, and in April 1567 he seized the queen as she was travelling from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, and carried her off to Dunbar. On the 15th of May they were married in Holyrood Chapel. They lived together unhappily for a month, and at the end of that time Mary was deposed. The nobles, including Murray and Morton, raised an army, which they said was intended to deliver the queen from the power of Bothwell. Mary and her husband, with a small force, met them on Carberry Hill, and the rebels offered to return to their obedience if the queen would abandon Bothwell. This she did, and Bothwell fled from Scotland; but the promise made on Carberry Hill was not kept. Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, and compelled to resign her throne in favour of her infant son, who was crowned in July 1567 as James VI. The Earl of Murray became regent.

The story of Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven in May 1568 is too long to tell here, and you will find it in Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Abbot." When she reached the shores of the lake she found help awaiting her, and soon she was at the head of a considerable force. But her army was defeated by the Regent Murray at



Lochleven Castle.





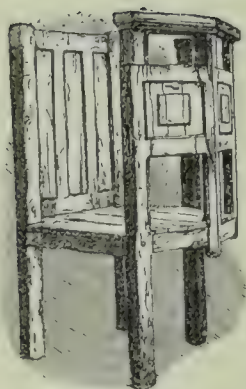
ESCAPE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.  
(From the picture by Thomas Danby, R.A., in *Belval Green Museum*.)

Langside, and the queen was a fugitive. She had received an invitation and a promise of assistance from Queen Elizabeth, and although she knew that the English queen hated her, and had helped her subjects to rebel against her, she was unwise enough to fly to England instead of to France. Elizabeth immediately imprisoned her, and asked the Earl of Murray and his supporters to state their charges against her. They accused her of the murder of her husband, and the Earl of Morton produced some letters which he said he had found in a silver casket in Edinburgh Castle immediately after Carberry Hill. If these letters were genuine, Mary was undoubtedly guilty of her husband's murder; but Elizabeth, after an inquiry, refused to declare that Mary was guilty. She kept her, however, a prisoner in England, and supported the Regent Murray in Scotland. A "queen's party" continued to fight for Mary in Scotland, and held Edinburgh Castle for her till the summer of 1573, but it never had any real chance of success.

The fighting was often very fierce between the queen's party and those who supported the regents for the young king, and a Scottish historian tells how fathers fought against sons, and brothers against brothers, and how the children used to amuse themselves by fighting each other for the cause of the queen or of little King James. The Earl of

Morton was largely to blame for the fierceness and cruelty of the fighting.

While Mary was a prisoner at Lochleven and in England the Scottish Protestants took steps to secure the supremacy of their faith. The Acts of 1560, which abolished Roman Catholicism, had never been sanctioned by the queen, and immediately after her fall a Convention or Parliament met and confirmed them (December 1567). The General Assembly of the Church had frequently



*John Knox's Pulpit.*

held meetings since 1560, and it now claimed to have the right of settling all questions of religion. At first it was permitted to do so without any opposition. The Regent Murray was on good terms with John Knox throughout his short but vigorous rule; and when he was murdered at Linlithgow, in 1570, Knox preached his funeral sermon from the text, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." The Good Regent, as Murray was called, was succeeded by the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley; but he was killed in the following year in a skirmish with the queen's party, and for another year the Earl of Mar acted as regent. Under the rule of both Lennox and Mar the most powerful person in Scotland was the Earl of Morton, and he determined to make his wishes felt in the settlement of the church.

From this time onwards to the Revolution of 1689 the question which divided Scotland was the relation of the church to the state. The Protestant church in Scotland, under the guidance of Andrew Melville, soon came to be arranged and organized in a manner similar to the Continental Protestants who followed John Calvin, a French reformer, who lived and taught at Geneva. Unlike the reformers of the Church of England, they believed that there should be no distinction between bishops and other clergymen, and held strongly the equality, or "parity," of all ministers. John Knox was an intimate friend of Calvin, and the view that there ought to be no bishops was adopted by the Parliament of 1567. We shall see how, later on, local assemblies were created to deal with local affairs, under the control of the General Assembly. These local assemblies still exist as kirk sessions, presbyteries, and provincial synods. In all the courts of the church laymen were, and still are, represented as well as ministers.

As the organization of the church became more complete, its demand to manage its own affairs without the interference of the state became stronger, and this is the great question to which we referred as having divided the country for a century. In those days it was much more difficult than it is to-day to distinguish between the



affairs of the church and the affairs of the nation, and there were times when the General Assembly went far beyond the administration of ecclesiastical matters. The Stewart kings held, on the other hand, that they had a right to settle church questions, and that the General Assembly ought to obey the royal commands. We have now reached the period when this kind of dispute began to be prominent.

The first dispute was about the question of bishops, and the chief opponent of the church was the Earl of Morton. The General Assembly claimed that the revenues of the old bishoprics should be handed over to the church, and Morton was determined to retain them for the government or the nobility. He therefore devised a system of sham bishops, who were to receive the revenues and hand them over to the nobles. They were not real bishops, because they were either laymen or were merely ordained in the same way as other ministers, and they had no claim to perform special religious functions, like the bishops of the Roman Church or of the Church of England. Knox, shortly before his death, preached vehemently against this system, and the people called the new officials "tulchan bishops." A tulchan was a calf's skin stuffed with straw to represent a living calf, which was sometimes placed near a cow to induce her to give milk. So the people said that

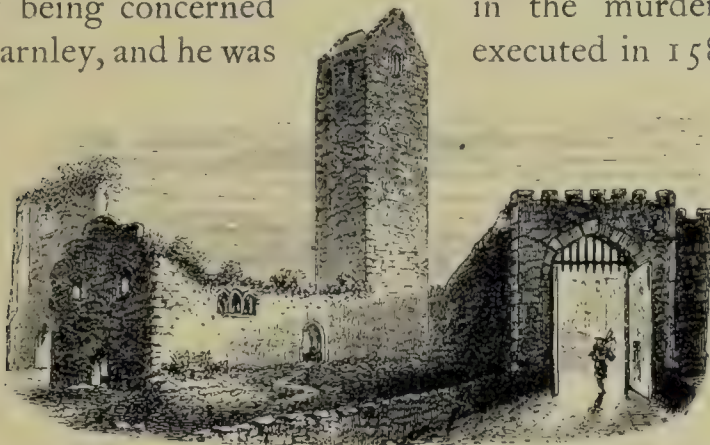
Morton's bishops were only a pretence to draw away its nourishment from the church.

John Knox died in October 1572, the month in which Morton succeeded Mar as regent. The new regent had a great deal of power, for Elizabeth soon helped him to take Edinburgh Castle, the last stronghold of the queen's party. He governed strictly, and, on the whole, well; but he showed hostility to the church, and soon found himself in conflict with its leader, Andrew Melville. In 1578 several of the nobles conspired against him, and he was compelled to resign; but he succeeded in obtaining possession of the young king, and might have continued to rule for some time had not James fallen under the influence of a cousin of his own, Esmé Stewart, whom he made Earl of Lennox. Lennox accused Morton of being concerned in the murder of Darnley, and he was

executed in 1581.



*Stone over John Knox's Grave, Edinburgh.*



*Ruins of the Kirk of Field. (From an old drawing.)*



John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation.  
(from the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.S.A.)



## Chapter XIV.

### JAMES VI. AND THE CHURCH.

THE church had already taken a part in political affairs, and was becoming as dangerous to the power of the Crown as the nobles had been before the Reformation. Its leaders now determined to make an effort to destroy Morton's system of tulchan bishops. In 1580 the General Assembly condemned the office of bishop as unscriptural, and in 1581 it established, under the influence of Andrew Melville, the local courts called presbyteries, to which we have already referred. It is important to remember that the Presbyterian system, in the full sense of the word, was established in Scotland, not by John Knox, but by Melville. The young king, now a precocious boy of fifteen, was already preparing for his great conflict with the church. Like his mother, he was very anxious to secure the succession to the throne of England, and for this purpose it was desirable to make the Church of Scotland as like the Church of England as possible. In addition to this, James early realized that the power of the



Crown over a small number of bishops would be much greater than over a General Assembly of the church. So, in spite of the Assembly, he appointed a tulchan Archbishop of Glasgow in 1581, and continued to support him when the church placed him under sentence of excommunication.

Meanwhile, Lennox had led James into intrigues with Spain and with the Pope, and it came to be believed that the king intended to restore Roman Catholicism. It seems probable that Lennox had such an intention; and a number of nobles, headed by the Earl of Gowrie, entered into a conspiracy to remove the king from his influence. They seized James when he was hunting, and imprisoned him in Ruthven Castle, near Perth, telling him, when he cried from fear and indignation, "Better bairns greet than bearded men." This incident is known as the Raid of Ruthven (August 1582). Lennox, after a futile effort to regain his power, fled to France, where he soon died, and for nearly a year the Earl of Gowrie conducted the government. He was on good terms with the church, and would probably have made James assent to all its demands had not the king (now seventeen years of age) escaped in June 1583. Henceforward he ruled in person, and when Gowrie rebelled in 1584 he beheaded him at Stirling.

For two years after his escape from Gowrie, the king was under the influence of another favourite, whom he made Earl of Arran; and during this period he continued to intrigue with Rome and with Spain, while at the same time he tried to keep on good terms with Elizabeth. It is not probable that he ever intended to change his religion, but he was anxious, if Elizabeth should not leave her throne to him, to be able to rely on the support of the Catholic powers in an attempt to seize the English throne. It was all a wild dream, and it led James into many difficulties. Under Arran's influence he took a strong step in his struggle with the church. In 1584 he persuaded Parliament to pass what Melville and the Presbyterian party called "the Black Acts." These Black Acts acknowledged the king as head of the church, admitted the rights of bishops appointed by the king, and forbade Assemblies to meet or ministers to discuss public affairs without the royal permission. The idea of the king as head of the church was entirely opposed to the doctrines of Melville, who held (as he afterwards told James), "There are twa kings and twa kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His kingdom the Kirk, of whose kingdom King James the Sixth is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a

member." Melville held that the church had its own distinct sphere of interests and duties, and that the law should not meddle with it. It is undeniable that the church wished to interfere with matters not purely religious in character—a claim to which the king might reasonably object; but James went beyond this and asserted his control over all the interests and work of the church.

In 1586 the nobles who had been banished when the Earl of Gowrie was executed, returned to Scotland, and Arran fell from power. But the struggle with the church went on. Andrew Melville persuaded the Synod of Fife to excommunicate the Archbishop of St. Andrews, but James succeeded in getting the General Assembly to cancel the sentence. Thus the king had now got a party within the church itself. The existence of this party was due chiefly to the fact that some of the ministers thought Melville's demands too harsh, and wished to bring about a compromise with the king. So far James seemed to have been successful. But in 1592 the church felt itself strong enough to make another effort to attain its ambition, and the Parliament which met in that year established the Presbyterian system. It was only a temporary victory, due to the king's difficulties; and four



ANDREW MELVILLE AND KING JAMES.  
*"There are twa kings and twa kingdoms in Scotland." (P. 191.)*



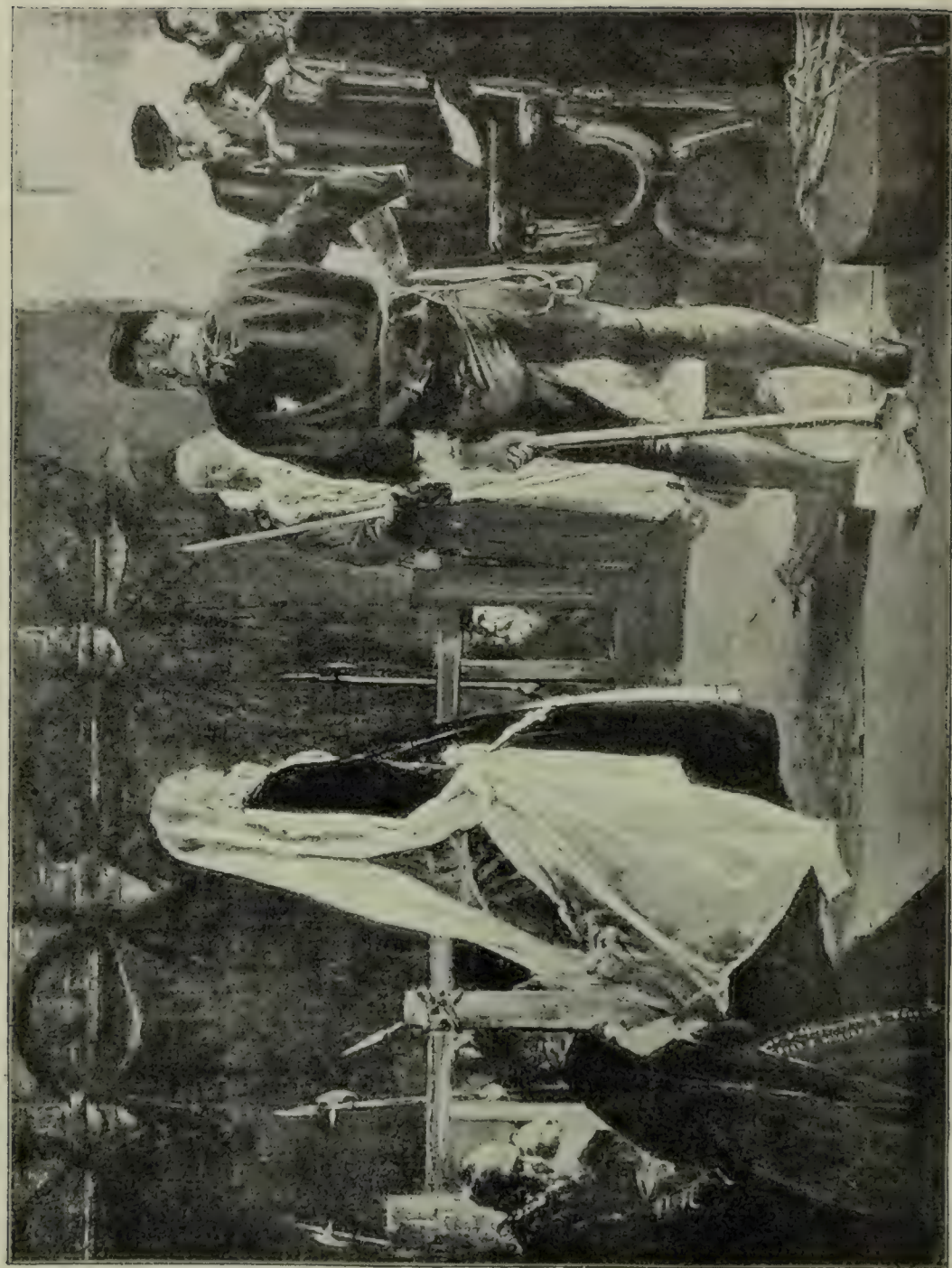
years later James renewed the conflict by punishing the ministers who opposed him. The city of Edinburgh sympathized with the ministers, and there was a great riot, after which James threatened that Edinburgh should no longer be the capital of the country. This reduced the citizens to submission, and James proceeded to summon General Assemblies composed largely of the moderate party, which was prepared to support him. Parliament in 1597 ordered that ministers appointed to bishoprics should have seats in the Parliament, and an Assembly gave its sanction to the Act. The word "bishop" was for some time avoided, and "commissioner" used instead; but before the union of the crowns James had appointed bishops, who, though not ordained like Roman or Anglican bishops, were placed in control over the old bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. The revenues of the other bishoprics had been granted by the Crown to laymen, and James did not see his way to provide for paying bishops for these sees.

The most important feature of the reign of James in Scotland is the conflict with the church; but there are one or two other things to which we must refer before speaking of his succession to the throne of England. After the fall of Lennox, James continued his foolish intrigues

with Rome and with Spain, and he wrote in 1585 a letter to the Pope, in which he hinted at the possibility of his becoming a Roman Catholic, and thanked the Pope for being kind to his mother, the unfortunate Queen Mary, who was still a prisoner in England. Two years later he himself refused to make any attempt to save his mother's life. The English Roman Catholics, who had raised no rebellion of any kind against Elizabeth before she imprisoned Mary, were very indignant at their queen's treatment of her guest, and Elizabeth's life was never safe while Mary was her prisoner.

In 1587, therefore, Mary was put to death, and James neither used his influence to save her, nor threatened to avenge her death. Elizabeth explained to him that his mother's execution was due to a misunderstanding, and had been against her own wishes, and he accepted the explanation; and when the Spanish Armada sailed against England, James proved loyal to his alliance with Elizabeth, and punished the Earls of Huntly and Errol, who sympathized with Philip of Spain.

As time went on James grew very impatient. Elizabeth did not die, and his succession to the English throne seemed likely to be long delayed, and he was foolish enough to enter in 1592 into another intrigue with Spain. The Earls of Huntly



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS GOING TO EXECUTION.

and Errol were again concerned in this plot, and though James wished to protect them, he was compelled to take steps against them, and he destroyed their castles of Strathbogie and Slains in 1594.

The close of the reign of James as King of Scotland was marked by a mysterious incident known as the "Gowrie Conspiracy." One August evening in the year 1600 the Earl of Gowrie (a son of the earl who had been put to death after the Ruthven Raid) and his brother, the Master of Ruthven, were slain by the king's attendants at Perth. We do not know for certain how this came about. James asserted that when he was hunting at Falkland the Master of Ruthven rode up and told him that he had discovered and imprisoned in Perth a man with a pot of gold. The king and Ruthven went to Perth after the hunt, and were welcomed by Gowrie and a band of retainers. After dinner James was asked to come to an upper room to see the man with the pot of gold, but there he was made a prisoner and threatened with death. He cried for help, and his attendants rushed into the room and found him struggling with Ruthven, whom they killed. The Earl of Gowrie was killed immediately afterwards. This was the king's story, and he asserted that the two brothers



had conspired to imprison him and seize the government. His explanation was not generally believed, and no one can tell to this day whether Gowrie and the Master of Ruthven conspired against the king, or whether it was a device of the king to get rid of two opponents.

At last, in March 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, and James succeeded, without opposition, to the English throne. His new dignity placed him in a much stronger position in dealing with his ancient kingdom. He was prevented, by his English Parliament, from attaining his great ambition of uniting the two countries into one kingdom under one Parliament, but he was able to make this boast about his power in Scotland, "Here I sit and govern it with my pen; I write and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword." The method which James adopted for the government of Scotland was the method of which we read in the histories of England under the Tudors—the method of government by Council. He made the Parliament and the General Assembly of little or no importance, and he increased enormously the powers and the duties of the Privy Council, over which he possessed complete control.

How did James use this great authority which

no other Scottish king had ever possessed? In some respects very wisely. Like James IV. and James V., he had always been anxious to make the Highlands and Islands more obedient to the Crown, and to increase in them the authority of the law; and before he left Scotland he had made efforts to reach this end, and had tried an experiment which was frequently tried in Ireland by the Tudors and the Stewarts. This plan was to place in the wilder portions of the country "plantations" or colonies of subjects who were accustomed to obedience, and whom the king could trust. After his accession to the English throne, James continued this policy, and sent some Lowlanders to occupy land in the island of Lewis. The attempt was not successful, and James had many difficulties in the Highlands, where the chief of each clan exercised powers which elsewhere belonged to the sheriff and other legal officials under the Crown. He tried to destroy the MacGregor clan, which was much given to plundering its Lowland neighbours, and ordered that no one should bear the name of MacGregor. Cruel measures were taken against this clan, and the manner in which it continued to exist is best described in Scott's novel "Rob Roy." James also attempted to introduce



*James VI. and I.*

better order into the Borders, and he did his best to heal feuds and bring about reconciliations between great families. He was anxious to encourage Scottish trade, and he irritated his English subjects by the patronage he gave to Scotsmen. The two most important national expansions during his reign were—first, the “Plantation” of Ulster, to which he sent a number of Scotsmen, and so laid the foundation of the intercourse between Scotland and the north of Ireland; and second, the beginning of a Scottish colony in the New World—Nova Scotia.

We have still to speak of the most notable use that James made of the increase of his power in Scotland. It was only natural that he should employ it to bend the church to his own will, and his experience of the obedience of English bishops made him more anxious than ever to establish Episcopacy in Scotland. He began the struggle by forbidding the General Assembly to meet without his consent, took legal proceedings against those who disobeyed, and banished some of them, and sent Andrew Melville to prison and to exile without a fair trial. By degrees he prepared the way for the reception of bishops. He called together a General Assembly consisting of his own supporters within the church, and persuaded them to agree to the appointment of

“constant moderators,” or permanent presidents of presbyteries and synods, and he created courts of high commission to punish ecclesiastical offences, thus diminishing the powers of the existing church courts.

Finally, in 1612, he got the Scottish Parliament, now entirely under his influence, to pass an Act for the regular appointment of bishops. The new bishops were consecrated in England, and were bishops in the proper sense of the word, and not laymen or ordinary ministers such as Morton had desired to have. But they did not enjoy the full powers of English bishops, for the kirk sessions, presbyteries, and synods still met, and had a great share in governing the church. Nor was there any attempt to introduce into Scotland the English prayer-book or ritual. The ministers still conducted the services in black gowns, and they either used the prayer-book drawn up by John Knox, and called the Book of Common Order, or they had no prayer-book at all. So far James was very prudent. By appointing bishops and suppressing the old free General Assemblies, he had obtained control over the clergy, but he had not raised the indignation of the laity by altering the forms of worship to which they were accustomed.

Towards the end of his reign he was foolish



enough to make an attempt of this kind. He visited Scotland in 1617, and introduced some English customs into the services in Holyrood Chapel; and in 1618 he summoned a General Assembly at Perth, and succeeded in filling it with his own supporters. This assembly passed the famous Five Articles of Perth, which attempted to introduce into the Church of Scotland the customs desired by the king. These were: Kneeling at communion; private communion for the sick; private baptism in cases of necessity; observance of the great days of the Christian year (such as Christmas and Easter); and episcopal confirmation before first communion. The Scottish bishops warned James that the time had not yet come for these changes, but the king persisted, and in 1621 Parliament ratified the Act of the Assembly. The opposition to the Five Articles continued to be very strong, and the Privy Council gradually lessened its efforts to enforce them. When James died, in 1625, the Church of Scotland was partly a Presbyterian and partly an episcopally governed church, and it was under the control of the state. The royal policy had achieved a great success, which was soon to be imperilled by James's successor.

## Chapter XV.

### THE TWO COVENANTS.

JAMES had appointed bishops in Scotland, but the revenues of the old church had already been seized by new owners, and there was not sufficient provision for the payment of either the bishops or the clergy. When his son, Charles I., came to the throne, he announced that he intended to revoke all grants of the church lands, and to annex them to the Crown, in order to provide for the stipends of the bishops and clergy. In this he was partially successful, and the ministers of the Established Church are still paid in accordance with the settlement made by Charles I.; but in carrying out his policy the new king interfered with many interests, and made numerous enemies. He offended in this way the great nobles, who might possibly have supported him in his attempt to make the Church of Scotland resemble the Church of England in its government and forms of worship, as well as in its possession of bishops.

Charles visited Scotland, and was crowned



*Charles I.*

at Edinburgh in 1633, and he roused Presbyterian indignation by erecting a crucifix in Holyrood Chapel. He also ordered the ministers to wear white surplices instead of black gowns, and though the order was not obeyed, it evoked very strong feeling. After his return to England, he and Archbishop Laud, with the consent of some of the



RUINS OF HOLYROOD CHAPEL.

Scottish bishops, prepared a book of canons or rules for the Church of Scotland. These canons gave the bishops powers which had hitherto belonged to presbyteries and kirk sessions, and ordered the use of a new prayer-book, which was published in 1637. The Scots did not object to prayers being read from a book, for the Book of Common Order was still in use; but when the new book came, they found

that it was a copy of the English prayer-book, with some alterations which were regarded with special dislike. Ministers and laymen were now united, over large portions of Scotland, in opposition to these changes. They objected to the innovations in themselves; they regarded them as forced upon Scotland by England; they hated them as introduced by royal authority without the consent of a



ST. GILES'S CATHEDRAL.

General Assembly, and they suspected that the king's policy was only the beginning of an attempt to bring back Roman Catholicism and the authority of the Pope. This suspicion was certainly unjust; but it was shared by a large number of Englishmen, who were resisting changes introduced into the Church of England by Charles and Laud.

The new prayer-book was ordered to be read,



for the first time, on Sunday, July 23, 1637, in St. Giles's Church at Edinburgh, which had just been raised to the dignity of a cathedral. On the morning of that memorable Sunday the Book of Common Order was read; but in the afternoon the Dean of Edinburgh began to use the Book of Common Prayer. There was at once a great riot. Tradition told afterwards how an old woman, called Jennie Geddes, threw at the dean's head the stool which she had brought to sit on. Cries were heard all over the church: "The Mass is entered upon us!" "Baal is in the church!" "Darest thou sing Mass in my lug?" The rioters believed that the prayer-book would lead them back to Rome and the Pope.



*Jennie Geddes's Stool.*

It soon became evident that the riot in St. Giles's Cathedral was the beginning of an important movement. The feeling against the Scottish bishops soon manifested itself, and a demand arose for a General Assembly. Early in 1638 it was decided to revive the National Covenant, which had been originally drawn up in 1557, and had been renewed in the reign of James VI. The nobles met in Edinburgh and signed the Covenant in Greyfriars' Church on the last day of February. They pledged themselves to maintain Protestantism, and claimed the right to



settle their own form of religion without interference from England. The National Covenant was signed in many parts of Scotland besides in Edinburgh; but it must not be thought that the whole nation was unanimous. There was always an Episcopalian party, strongest in the western Highlands and in the north-east of Scotland. In Aberdeen, for example, men were compelled to sign the Covenant against their will, for the young Earl of Montrose, at the head of an army, insisted on their doing so.

In Edinburgh and the south the Covenanters were very strong, and Charles I. had to agree to permit the meeting of a General Assembly. It met at Glasgow in November 1638, and when the king's commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, found out how determined it was, he dissolved it in the name of the king. The members refused to admit that the king had the right to dissolve a court of the church, and they proceeded to carry on their discussions, and took a momentous step. They declared that Episcopacy must be abolished, and that Presbyterianism was to be the established religion of Scotland. Charles was much alarmed, and tried to persuade the Scots to go back to the state of affairs under James VI. before the Five Articles of Perth were introduced. But it was all in vain, and the country was soon engaged in the first Bishops' War.

In this war there was very little fighting. The Scots obtained the services of a great Scottish general called Alexander Leslie, who had been fighting for the Protestants in Germany. Leslie, with an army of trained soldiers who had fought under him on the Continent, marched to Berwick, and Charles came to meet him, but dared not fight, because he knew that his army was powerless against Leslie's. So he promised to allow a free Parliament and a free General Assembly to meet, and returned to England without a struggle. The only fighting was in Aberdeenshire, where the Earl of Montrose defeated the Marquis of Huntly, who took the king's side. The truce with Charles was only temporary, however, for when the Scottish Parliament followed the General Assembly in abolishing Episcopacy, the king refused to assent to its measures, and the second Bishops' War broke out. In August 1640 the Scots crossed the Border, defeated the royal forces at Newburn, and seized the town of Newcastle. This was a very important step, because Newcastle supplied London with coal, and the Scots could threaten to cut off the supply.

But London was in sympathy with the Scots, and not with the king. Charles had been ruling

*Musketeer.*



in England for ten years without a Parliament, and had created great indignation by his taxes and by his religious policy, which the English Puritans believed to favour Roman Catholicism. The Scottish invasion compelled him to summon first one Parliament and then another, and so the Londoners, who were strongly Protestant, looked upon the Scots as friends and deliverers. Charles was forced to give way to the Scottish demands, and to permit the Scottish army to remain in England until its expenses were paid. His disagreements



*Flag of the Covenant.*

with his English Parliament became more and more violent, and in 1641 he paid a visit to Scotland, hoping that by granting all the demands of the Scots he might obtain their help against the English Parliament.

This visit to Edinburgh was not a success. Charles's English opponents were encouraged in their demands by seeing him give way on all points in Scotland. He agreed to the abolition of Episcopacy, and he conferred titles upon his leading opponents. Leslie became Earl of Leven, and Argyll, the Presbyterian leader, was made a marquis. The visit was marred by a mysterious plot which is known in history as "The Incident." It was alleged that the Royalists intended to kidnap Argyll, and Charles himself was suspected of being

an accomplice in the design. In November Charles was again in London, and before long England was involved in the Great Rebellion. In August 1642 the king's standard was raised at Nottingham. During the first year of the war fortune distinctly favoured him, and in the autumn of 1643 the English Parliament was looking about for allies to help it against the king.

Before the war broke out, Scottish commissioners had been in London for a considerable time discussing Scottish affairs. They had been in close touch with the citizens of London and with the members of the House of Commons, and they had been greatly impressed by the love of Presbyterianism which was shown alike by the Londoners and by the Commons. When they went back to Scotland they reported that England wanted a Presbyterian church, and now in 1643 they thought they saw an opportunity of uniting England and Scotland in one Presbyterian church, as Charles had tried to unite them in one Episcopal church. It was all a mistake, for the Londoners and the Commons were almost alone in their love of Presbyterianism, and the English, as a nation, did not want it any more than the Scots,



*The King's Standard.*

as a nation, wanted Episcopacy. But the Scots did not understand this, and were determined that England should become a Presbyterian country.

The English Parliament wanted to make an alliance, in order to obtain Scottish help in the field. But the Scots would not hear of a mere military alliance; they insisted upon a second covenant, which we must be careful to distinguish from that of 1638. By the National Covenant the Scots had made a solemn covenant with the Almighty, pledging themselves to maintain the Protestant faith in the form approved by their own consciences; by the Solemn League and Covenant it was proposed that England and Scotland should unite in taking a similar pledge, and that, with the view of carrying it into effect, the Scots should help the English Parliament to fight the king and his Episcopalian supporters. In August 1643 the Scottish Estates took the Solemn League and Covenant, and in September it was taken by the English Parliament. An assembly of English and Scottish divines met at Westminster and drew up the Confession of Faith and the Shorter and Larger Catechisms, which were intended to serve for a united Presbyterian Church of Great Britain. A Scottish army, under Leven, marched into England in January 1644, and was of considerable assistance to the English, especially



CROMWELL AT MARSTON MOOR.  
(From the picture by Ernest Crofts, A.R.A.)



at the battle of Marston Moor, where the Royalists were defeated in July 1644.

The Scottish Royalists now made up their mind to strike a blow for the king, and they found a leader in the Earl of Montrose, who, in 1641, had gone over to the Royalist side. Early in 1644 he raised a Royalist army, and the king made him a marquis and commander-in-chief in Scotland. On September 1st he won a victory at Tippermuir, near Perth, and thence marched with his Highland host to Aberdeen, which he captured. He remained a short time in Aberdeenshire and Perthshire, and in December made an attack upon the domains of Argyll. Defeating Argyll at Inverlochy on February 2, 1645, he soon reappeared in the north-east, seized Dundee, and won victories at Auldearn and Alford.

His last victory was won at Kilsyth on August 15, 1645, and he then marched towards England to join the remnant of the English Royalists, who had been hopelessly crushed at Naseby by Oliver Cromwell in June. Part of the Scottish army in England, under David Leslie, a brother of Leven, went northwards to meet him, and Montrose was completely defeated at Philiphaugh in September.

The Royalists had now no chance of success either in England or in Scotland; but there were still two parties in England



*General David Leslie.*

struggling for the chief power in the state. The great victory over the king at Naseby had not been won by the old Parliamentary army, but by a new force under the control of Oliver Cromwell, and known as the New Model Army. It was composed of Independents, who believed that each congregation ought to have absolute power to govern itself, and should not be controlled either by bishops or by presbyteries and assemblies. They hated Presbyterianism as much as they hated Episcopacy, and were, of course, strongly opposed to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Soon Cromwell and the army succeeded in gaining possession of the person of the king. Charles had fled from Oxford in 1646 to the Scottish army at Newark, and they had taken him to Newcastle. They knew that the New Model Army would not allow the English Parliament to carry out the agreement of the Solemn League and Covenant, and establish Presbyterianism as the one lawful religion in England, and they were willing to support the king if he would agree to do this. Charles, who believed in Episcopacy, declined to give such a promise; and the Scots, on being paid the money promised them by the English Parliament for their aid in the war, returned



*Oliver Cromwell.*

to their own country, leaving the king in charge of the representatives of the Parliament. He was kept a prisoner, but was not sufficiently guarded, and he was soon captured by Cromwell's army.

The policy of the Solemn League and Covenant had now entirely broken down, for the English Parliament was unable to protect itself, and could do nothing towards establishing Presbyterianism in England. The king, in the end of the year 1647, offered to establish it for three years if the Scots would take his side, and a large number of the Scots made an agreement with him known as the Engagement, and in 1648 the Duke of Hamilton led an army into England on his behalf. He was defeated by Cromwell at Preston in August 1648, and in the following January Cromwell and the officers of the army put Charles to death and declared England a Commonwealth. The king was soon followed to the grave by the Marquis of Montrose, who, having made an attempt on behalf of Charles II. in April 1650, was captured and put to death at Edinburgh.

The Scottish leaders were still determined not to abandon the Solemn League, and they found the young Charles II., then an exile in Holland, willing to assent to their demands. He landed at the mouth of the Spey in July 1650, and took each of the two Covenants. He was supported by a

number of Scottish Royalists, and by the whole Presbyterian party, even by those who (like Argyll) had disapproved of the Engagement of 1648. The Scottish army was defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar in September 1650, and a large number of the Presbyterian party regarded the cause of Charles as hopeless, and submitted to Cromwell. But Charles had still a following, who crowned him at Scone on January 1, 1651, and in the summer of that year invaded England in the hope of placing him on the throne. Cromwell crushed them at Worcester on the 3rd September (the anniversary of Dunbar), and the young king escaped to France.

From this date until the Restoration Scotland was under English government. Cromwell suppressed the General Assembly, united the Scottish with the English Parliament, and governed the country by a council, and by a section of his army under General Monk. He abolished the Scottish law courts and dismissed the Scottish judges. He allowed complete freedom of trade with England, which was a great boon to Scottish merchants. It cannot be denied that he governed Scotland justly and well, but he did not govern it in accordance with Scottish ideas. His rule was hated; and when, after his death, the English Parliament restored Charles II., the accession of the young king was hailed with rejoicing in Scotland.



## Chapter XVI.

### THE KILLING TIME.

SCOTLAND had now got a covenanted king, for Charles II. had sworn to uphold the Solemn League and Covenant. No one could reasonably expect him to attempt to establish Presbyterianism in England, for one of the causes of the Restoration was a desire for the return of the Church of England. Nobody believed that he was a Presbyterian at heart, for he had only signed the Covenant because he could not get Scottish help in any other way. But it was hoped that he might consent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, or, at all events, to the toleration of Presbyterian worship.

For some time his decision remained doubtful. It was not an easy question to decide, for the extreme Presbyterians would not be satisfied with anything less than compulsory Presbyterianism, and, on the other hand, the king's advisers and his own personal wishes urged him to try to compel the Scots to accept Episcopacy.



*Charles II.*

His decision was announced in the end of 1661. Charles resolved to force Episcopacy upon Scotland—not the Episcopacy of Charles I. and Laud, but the Episcopacy of James I. No attempt was made to introduce the Book of Common Prayer, and the clergy for the most part used the old Book of Common Order; and while bishops were appointed to the old dioceses, the local church courts were permitted to meet and to exercise powers which in England belonged to bishops. The new Archbishop of St. Andrews was a man whose name is famous in Scottish history,—James Sharp, a Presbyterian minister, who had been for two years resident in London looking after Presbyterian interests. He was well aware that (in his own words) the king's policy would "bring suffering upon many honest men," but he finally consented to become the instrument of that policy, and he entered upon his high office despised by the men who had bought him, and detested by those whose cause he had deserted and betrayed.

Like James I., the new king obtained complete control over the restored Scottish Parliament and the Privy Council, and there was now no General Assembly to oppose him. All that had been done since 1638 was now abolished, including, of course, the union of the Scottish Parliament with that of England, and the grant of freedom of trade. The

new rulers of Scotland under Charles were not men whom it was possible to respect. The best of them was the Earl of Middleton, who was dismissed in 1663. He was succeeded by the Earl of Rothes, an able man of bad character and narrow outlook, who governed till 1667, when he was succeeded by the Duke of Lauderdale. Middleton and Lauderdale had both been Covenanters, and like Sharp they were regarded as traitors to their old cause.

From the very beginning of his rule Middleton showed severity. The Marquis of Argyll, who had been rash enough to go to London immediately after the Restoration, and had been imprisoned there, was brought to Edinburgh, tried, and put to death in 1661. All parish ministers who refused to acknowledge the authority of the bishops were deprived of their livings, and forbidden to reside within twenty miles of their old parishes, or in the neighbourhood of any town or royal burgh. A Court of High Commission was appointed to deal with religious cases. Heavy fines were inflicted on all who refused to attend their parish churches. The Covenanters met secretly for worship in what were known as "conventicles," and soldiers were employed to put down these meetings. In 1666, some of the Galloway Covenanters attacked a military commander who had been sent on this

duty, kept him a prisoner, and marched into Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, and finally to Colinton, near Edinburgh. They did not dare to enter the capital, and were retreating across the Pentlands when General Dalziel defeated them at Rullion Green (November 1666). Only about fifty were killed in the battle, but the prisoners and those who were suspected of a share in the rising were tortured to reveal what they knew. Some of the prisoners were put to death, and others lost their lands and property.

After the insurrection of Rullion Green, Lauderdale came into power, and at first attempted a more merciful policy. An effort was made to persuade ejected ministers to conform and return to their parishes, but it had little success, and in 1670 an Act was passed strictly forbidding conventicles, and soon afterwards all loyal subjects were prohibited from having any intercourse with men who disobeyed the king. In 1677, all landlords and masters were declared responsible for the conduct of their tenants and servants, and an army composed mainly of Highlanders was quartered in the south-west. For all these measures Archbishop Sharp was believed to be responsible, and on the 3rd of May 1679, as he was driving with his daughter over Magus Moor, on his way from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, he was murdered by some extreme





A CONVENTICLE.

(From the picture by Sir G. Harvey, P.R.S.A.)

Covenanters who had met there with the intention of killing one of Sharp's agents. It was a cruel deed, but years of persecution had roused evil passions that could not be easily kept in check, and the murder of the archbishop led to the second important rebellion of the reign.

An army of Covenanters collected near Glasgow, and at Drumclog, on the 11th June, they defeated John Graham of Claverhouse, whom the government had sent to suppress conventicles in the west. This rising and the protection of Sharp's murderers were disliked by many moderate Presbyterians, and even by some who had themselves suffered for their religion, and the rebellion had no chance of any permanent success. Eleven days later, Claverhouse and the Duke of Monmouth defeated the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and the government repeated the cruel suppression which had followed Rullion Green. They sent few prisoners to the gallows, but they imprisoned over one thousand in the open air in Greyfriars' Churchyard in Edinburgh for five months, and they sent more than two hundred to be slaves in the Barbadoes. Most of them were drowned on the way by a shipwreck, which is supposed to have been due to design rather than accident. After this insurrection Charles dismissed Lauderdale, and again a more



*Graham of Claverhouse.*

moderate government was attempted and an Act of Indemnity passed. It proved useless, for no conciliation was now possible, and in the end of 1679 the Duke of York (afterwards King James VII.) undertook to govern Scotland.

A considerable number of the Presbyterians had by degrees accepted the offers of the government, which were known as the three "Indulgences;" by these Presbyterians who acknowledged the right of the king to interfere with the church were permitted to worship in their own way. But there was still a large section who held the views of Andrew Melville, and demanded the recognition of the Solemn League and Covenant. This section, which came to be known as Cameronians, from one of their leaders, Richard Cameron, openly threw off allegiance to Charles II. at Sanquhar in June 1680, denouncing him



*James VII. and II.*

as a perjured man and a breaker of the Covenants. They were never strong enough to organize a rebellion, but a small body of them were defeated at Aird's Moss in July 1680, where Cameron was killed. The new leader, Donald Cargill, solemnly excommunicated Charles II. and his advisers at Torwood, in Stirlingshire. He was captured and put to death, and for some years his followers were the victims of Claverhouse and his dragoons,

and of the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie. Refusing to acknowledge the royal authority, they were hunted on the hills and were mercilessly shot down. There can be no question that they were rebels, desperate, and refusing obedience to the law; but it was the government that had made them so.

The "Killing Time" did not end with the death of Charles II. in February 1685, for the new king, James VII., carried on for some months the cruel policy which had marked his rule in Scotland as Duke of York, and sent hundreds of the Covenanters as slaves to the American colonies. An Act of Parliament was passed by which any one who had been present at a conventicle might be put to death for that offence alone. In the first year of his reign, James had to face the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth in England. Monmouth had obtained the assistance of the Earl of Argyll (son of the Marquis), who had been unjustly condemned for treason in the reign of Charles II., but had escaped and fled to Holland. Argyll landed in Scotland, but was unable to deal any effective blow against the government. He was captured and put to death (1685).

The king was now attempting to obtain toleration for Roman Catholics in England, and to appoint them to high positions in the army and the



universities, and he gradually changed his policy in Scotland. He announced that it was his aim to secure freedom of trade between Scotland and England, and asked Parliament to repeal the laws against Catholics. It was impossible to give freedom to Roman Catholics without also granting it to Presbyterians, and in 1686 James issued Letters of Indulgence by which they were allowed "to serve God after their own way and manner." This permission, of course, could not apply to the Cameronians, who would not admit the king's authority, and their leader, James Renwick, suffered death in 1688. He was the last covenanting victim.

Meanwhile James was ruling by means of Roman Catholic advisers. The Scottish Parliament had been very subservient, but it had not repealed the law against Roman Catholics, and so James governed without it, and appointed Roman Catholics to the Privy Council. There was great alarm in Scotland, just as there was in England; and when James's son-in-law, William of Orange, decided to come over and occupy the throne of England, he issued a declaration to the Scots offering to deliver them from the tyrannies of King James.

## Chapter XVII.

### THE REVOLUTION AND THE UNION.

THE news of the Revolution in England and the flight of King James was received in Scotland with satisfaction, and the nation at once began to take advantage of the situation in order to remedy the evils of the last two reigns. There was no king to summon a Parliament, but a Convention met in April 1689 and declared that James had forfeited his right to the crown, and that the throne was vacant. Following the example of England, the Convention entered into a bargain with William, offering the crown to him and Mary on certain conditions. The new sovereigns must avoid all the illegal acts of the late king, and they must assent to the re-establishment of Presbyterianism as the national form of religion. To these conditions William and Mary agreed, and they converted the Convention into a Parliament.

The settlement was, of course, far from being unanimous. The old Royalist party which had

followed Montrose was prepared to fight for King James as, less than half a century before, it had fought for King Charles; and soon an army of Highland Episcopalians and Roman Catholics gathered round the standard of Claverhouse, whom King James made Viscount Dundee. When the Convention came to its momentous decision, Claverhouse left Edinburgh to raise his forces in the north.

“To the Lords of Convention, ’twas Claverhouse spoke,—  
 ‘Ere the king’s crown go down there are crowns to be broke.’”

But the military resistance was short. Edinburgh Castle, whose captain, the Duke of Gordon, declared for King James when Dundee left Edinburgh, surrendered in the month of June, and on the 17th Dundee himself was slain in battle. He had been pursued by General Mackay with a Lowland army, and the two forces, after much marching, met at Killiecrankie. The battle was a Jacobite victory, but Dundee was killed on the field, and the Jacobites had no leader.

Parliament now took steps to establish again the Presbyterian Church on the basis of the Confession of Faith, which had been drawn up at Westminster during the Great Rebellion. The extreme Presbyterians were deeply offended because the Solemn

League and Covenant was abandoned, and because toleration was granted to Episcopalians who took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. They would have liked to take vengeance for past sufferings; but William would not hear of this, and the Episcopalian ministers who were expelled



PASS OF KILLIECRANKIE.

from their parishes suffered comparatively little ill-treatment.

William was never popular in Scotland, and there were good reasons for disliking him, for he was generally believed to have behaved badly in the two most memorable incidents of his reign—



the Massacre of Glencoe and the Darien Scheme. The Highland chiefs who sympathized with King James had been instructed to tender their submission to the new government not later than the 31st December 1691. Macdonald of Glencoe, who had delayed his submission to the last moment, went to Fort William (where a fortress had just been built) to take the oath. The captain of the garrison told him that he had no power to administer it, and Macdonald was six days late when he took it at Inveraray before the Sheriff of Argyll. Some of his Scottish enemies, the leader of whom was Campbell of Glenlyon, asked for William's authority to massacre the whole clan, and the permission was cordially given. "It will be a proper vindication of public justice," he said, "to extirpate that sect of thieves."

Plans were at once made to surround the glen and exterminate the Macdonalds of Glencoe. They were not entirely successful, but they were carried out with diabolical treachery. A hundred and twenty soldiers peacefully entered Glencoe on the 1st February 1692, and were received with Highland hospitality. Early in the morning of the 13th they murdered the chief and commenced to massacre his clan. Only about thirty persons (including three or four women) were actually killed, but many others died of starvation,

and the houses were burned and the glen wasted. All Scotland was filled with indignation, but William refused to punish the wrongdoers. He was not responsible for the treachery of the deed, and it is possible that he did not quite understand



GLENCOE.

all that he had been asked to sanction, but his refusal to punish the murderers cannot be explained away.

The indignation caused by the heartlessness which William showed in connection with the



GLENCOE.

(From the picture by J. B. MacDonald, in the National Gallery of Scotland. By permission of the Royal Scottish Academy.)

massacre of Glencoe was increased, some years later, by his conduct in regard to a Scottish attempt at colonization. Great efforts were being made to increase Scottish trade, and about 1695 a famous Scotsman, called William Paterson, who is best remembered as the founder of the Bank of England, suggested the foundation of a Scottish company to trade to Africa and the Indies. The scheme was taken up eagerly by the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish people; and when the English House of Commons, jealous of the attempt to improve the trade of Scotland, brought about the withdrawal of some promised English support, the necessary money was raised in Scotland. As a trading concern the company might have succeeded, but it was next decided to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, near Panama, in the hope of attracting trade from both North and South America.

The whole scheme was marred by the certainty that it would lead to trouble not only with England and the English East India Company, but also with Spain. The Act of the Scottish Parliament giving powers to the Darien Company had been sanctioned by William, who was at the time engaged in the siege of Namur. He asserted that he had been misled by his Scottish advisers, and he disowned the Act, and refused to admit



that the new colony was a lawful one. There is much more to be said for him in this matter than on the question of Glencoe, but everybody in Scotland believed that he had betrayed the country, and as disaster followed disaster the feeling against him grew stronger. In the end of 1698 twelve hundred Scots landed on the shores of the Gulf of Darien, with high hopes of founding a great city. They found the Spaniards hostile; they had no adequate means of protection, and little food. The nearest English colonies were forbidden to help them, and disease and famine soon desolated the settlement. A second band of colonists came, and found empty huts and lonely Scottish graves, and they in turn were soon driven away by a Spanish attack. It was all a miserable failure, due to many causes, but the blame was laid on William.

While the Scottish attempt at colonization was ending in disaster, William died, and in March 1702 his sister-in-law, the second daughter of James II., began to reign as Queen Anne. Her reign is memorable for the parliamentary union of the kingdoms, which had been one of the aims of James I. and one of the achievements of Cromwell. After the Restoration the Scots, suffering from the loss of freedom of trade which they had enjoyed under the Commonwealth, had themselves suggested a

scheme of union, but it came to nothing. Both at the beginning and at the end of his reign William had urged the necessity of some such step, and the failure of the Darien Scheme was a sad proof of the hopelessness of a revival of Scottish trade while the enmity of England continued. William's reign had been a time of large expenditure and of bad seasons, and the trade of Scotland was very low. Only a union with England could revive it.

The rule of William had given another proof of the necessity of union. While the king really governed the country, it did not matter whether there were two Parliaments or one, for the sovereign decided all foreign affairs. But now the English Parliament and the Scottish Parliament claimed to be the real rulers of England and Scotland, and wished to interfere even in foreign policy. It was clear that if the two Parliaments took different views the country would be divided against itself. William had employed the resources of England and Scotland in the laudable effort to save Holland from the French, but the Scottish Parliament had deeply resented many things that he did. Obviously this state of matters could not continue.

There was still another reason which made it desirable to have a union during Anne's reign. The queen's children were all dead, and the



*Queen Anne.*

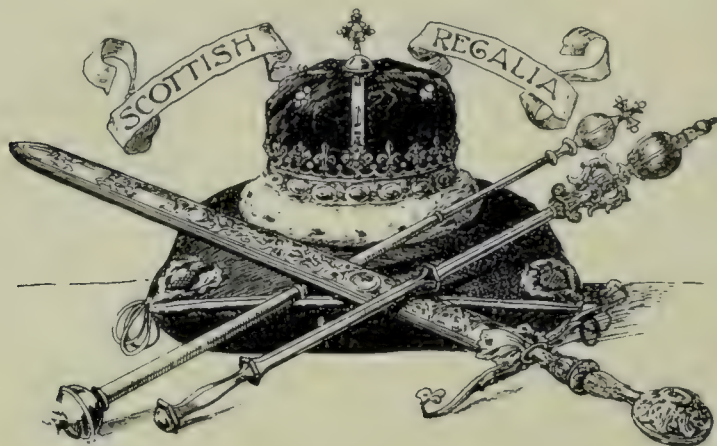
English Parliament had chosen as her successor a granddaughter of James I., who had married the Elector of Hanover, and was the mother of the reigning Elector. The English Government was very anxious that the Scots should also recognize the Electress Sophia and her son George of Hanover as the heirs to their throne, but the Scots were not prepared to make up their minds about the succession until after Queen Anne's death. It was therefore very desirable to have a complete union of the two kingdoms in the queen's lifetime, in order that there should be no doubt or hesitation after her death.

All ranks of Scotsmen were at one in disliking the idea of a union. The Scottish Parliament had rarely been of much use to the country; in the Middle Ages it had been under the control of the king, or of the most powerful noble of the time, and under James VI. and Charles II. it was a passive instrument of absolute sovereignty. It had shown some independence at the time of the Reformation and about the period of the Bishops' Wars, but even then the General Assembly was the real leader of the nation. Still, the Parliament represented Scottish independence, and under William III. and Anne it had made a great struggle for Scottish freedom from Eng-

lish interference, and so Scotsmen as a rule were very unwilling that it should come to an end. The only great inducement that the English Government could give was freedom of trade, and to the Lowlanders this offer commended the prospect of union. England offered complete freedom of trade, and solemn guarantees of the maintenance of the Established Church, of the universities, and of Scots law. On these conditions the Scottish Parliament decided to accept the Treaty of Union. Some of the minor conditions were not so favourable to Scotland as they might have been, for only forty-five Scottish members were to sit in the British House of Commons, and the peers of Scotland were only to have the right of electing sixteen representatives to the House of Lords. The Scottish Parliament met for the last time on the 25th March 1707. It was with deep regret and irritation that the people of Scotland saw the end of their independence. But Bruce and Wallace had not fought in vain, for the Union was no conquest or annexation on tyrannous and unfair terms, but a bargain freely made by two equal nations for the sake of the peace and prosperity which it would bring to both. It was bitterly opposed at the time, and some years afterwards a strong effort to repeal it was nearly successful. If a popular vote had been taken on the question in 1707, it is quite



probable that a majority of Englishmen and of Scotsmen alike would have been adverse to the proposal. But it has been generally agreed by historians that it has brought much good to both nations.



## Chapter XVIII.

### JACOBITES AND REFORMERS.

THE history of Scotland after the union must be told here very briefly. The part that Scotsmen have played in the building up of the British Empire, in the colonization of Canada and Australia, or on the battlefields of India and Africa, would lead us into the discussion of topics which properly belong to the history of the United Kingdom. We must be content here with saying something of the political and ecclesiastical events that are peculiar to Scotland, and leave to other books the story of colonization and of the growth of commerce and the development of industry and manufacture, the great record of all of which belongs to Scotland and England alike.

Queen Anne died in 1714. The Jacobites, or followers of King James, had hoped that she would recognize her half-brother as James III. of England and VIII. of Scotland. But she died without doing so, and the Elector of Hanover, a great-grandson

of James VI. and I., succeeded to the throne without opposition. In the following year the followers of Prince James made their first great effort to put him on the throne. The Earl of Mar raised the standard at Braemar in August 1715, and soon a Jacobite army occupied Perth, and was preparing to march on Stirling and Edinburgh. The Duke of Argyll was sent to meet him, and a battle was fought at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, on November 13th. It is usually called a drawn battle, and there is a famous ballad about it which says,—



*Prince James.*

“There’s some say that we wan,  
Some say that they wan,  
Some say that nane wan at a’, man;  
But ae thing I’m sure,  
That at Shirramuir  
A battle there was which I saw, man;  
And we ran, and they ran,  
And they ran, and we ran,  
And we ran, and they ran awa’, man.”

Sheriffmuir was, in fact, a Hanoverian victory, for Argyll prevented Mar from marching southwards, and compelled him to return to Perth. The Jacobites in the north of England had been easily crushed at Preston about the same time as their Scottish allies were fighting at Sheriffmuir, and when James landed at Peterhead, in

December, his cause was already hopeless. He was a brave man, of good private character, and he would have made a better and perhaps a wiser king than his obstinate and cruel father. But he was not the man to give life and enthusiasm to crestfallen and despairing troops, and he fled to France in the beginning of February. Mar escaped with him, but three of the other leaders, Lords Kenmure, Derwentwater, and Nithsdale, were sentenced to death. Nithsdale escaped with the help of his courageous countess, but the two others were beheaded on Tower Hill. The government were not unduly harsh in dealing with the prisoners of less note, although they broke the Act of Union by trying them in England. They took the opportunity of making roads through the Highlands in order that the country might be more easily accessible for the royal troops, and the name of Marshal Wade, the commander of the engineers who made the roads, is still remembered in Scotland.

There was much ill-feeling in Scotland towards the government of George I. and George II., and in 1736 the populace of Edinburgh defied the authorities in a famous riot, which Sir Walter Scott has described in his novel "The Heart of Midlothian." Smuggling was then looked upon as a very venial crime, and a smuggler called Wilson, who was

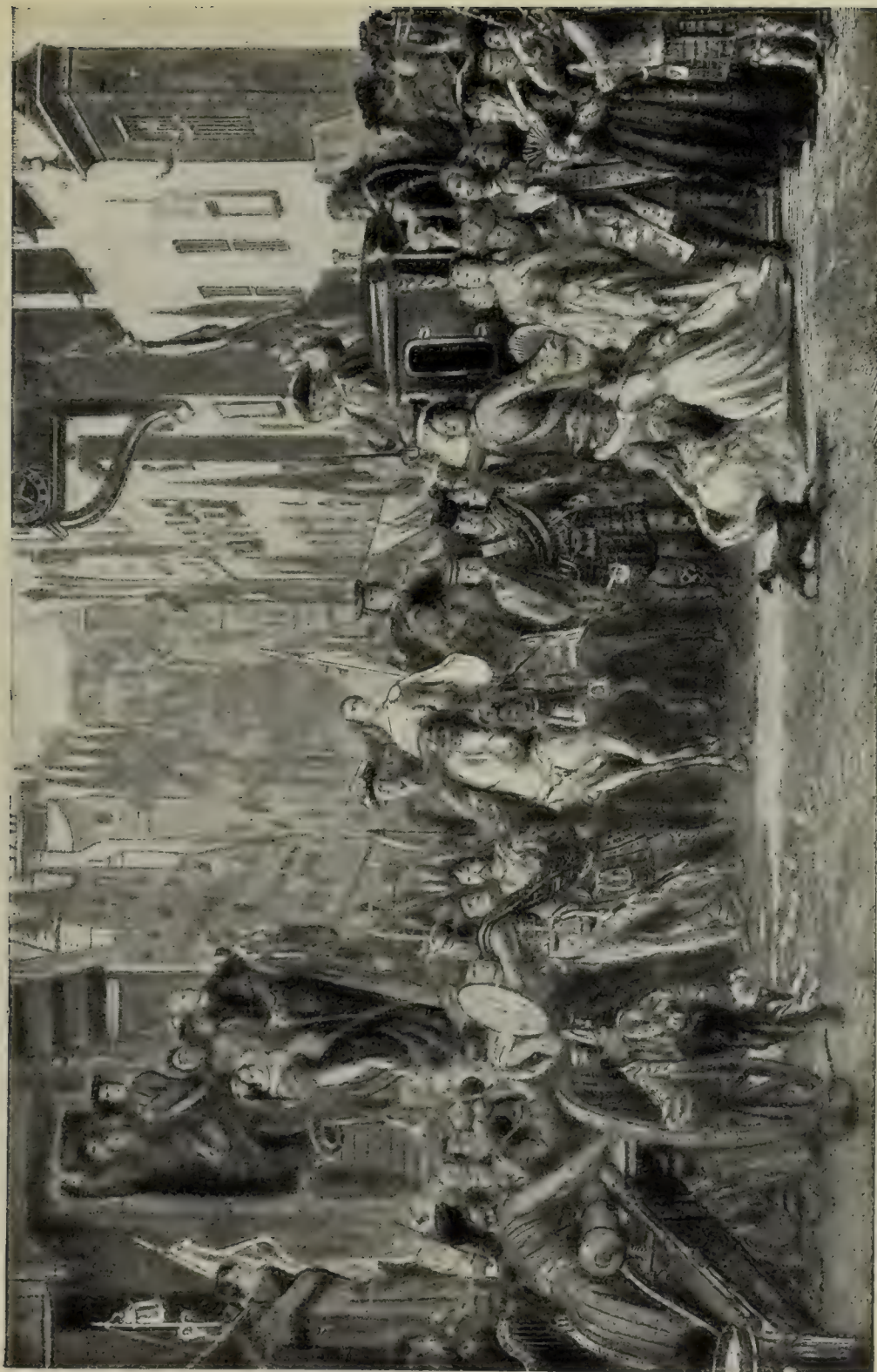


condemned to death, had won popular sympathy by helping his companion to escape. After Wilson's execution an attack was made by the crowd on the City Guard, and Captain Porteous, who was in command, ordered his soldiers to fire on the



THE GRASSMARKET, EDINBURGH, WHERE THE CITY GUARD, UNDER PORTEOUS, FIRED ON THE MOB.

mob. Six persons were mortally wounded, and Porteous was tried for murder and condemned to death. The government forbade the immediate carrying out of the sentence until inquiries should be made; but an Edinburgh mob broke into the



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD ENTERING EDINBURGH.

Tolbooth, found the unfortunate man hiding in the chimney of his cell, carried him off, and hanged him on a dyer's pole. The city of Edinburgh was punished, and Queen Caroline, who was acting as regent while her husband, George II., was in Germany, talked of making Scotland a hunting-ground.

When the Jacobites made their next great effort, they could thus rely on a certain amount of dis-



*Prince Charles*

content; but the Lowlands were by this time much too prosperous to join in a revolution; and when Prince Charlie landed in Inverness-shire in 1745, he was the leader of a forlorn hope. He was not so good a man as his father, James, "the Old Chevalier," but he was much more fascinating and attractive, and he succeeded in imperilling the throne of George II. An army of Highlanders flocked to his standard, and he marched upon Edinburgh, eluding Sir John Cope, who, with a Hanoverian army, was marching northwards to intercept him. Edinburgh submitted almost at once, and the prince held court at Holyrood, though he never obtained possession of the Castle. Meanwhile Cope, who had gone to Inverness and thence to Aberdeen, sailed to Dunbar. The prince sallied out of Edinburgh to meet him, and defeated him at Prestonpans (September 21, 1745), afterwards showing great humanity to the wounded.





Prince Charles Edward at Holyrood, after Prestonpans.

(From the painting by W. H. 1746, in the Municipal Buildings, Edinburgh. By permission.)





ROUTE MAP OF THE '45.

He remained at Edinburgh as "Prince Regent" for his father till the end of October, when he led his army into England, hoping to be joined by the English Jacobites. In this expectation he was bitterly disappointed, but he succeeded in marching as far south as Derby. Great Britain was engaged at the time in a war with France and Prussia, and there were comparatively few troops in England. Marshal Wade, who had an army at Newcastle, had failed to prevent the prince's march; but the Duke of Cumberland, a son of George II., was in command of an army which barred the way to London. Very reluctantly the prince was compelled to decide on a retreat. He returned by Glasgow, and began to besiege Stirling Castle.

Cumberland and Wade had sent in pursuit a force under General Hawley, and the prince left Stirling and turned to meet Hawley at Falkirk, where he won his second great victory (January 17, 1746). From Falkirk Prince Charlie retreated to Inverness, where he spent the rest of the winter. On April 16, 1746, he was completely defeated at Culloden, Cumberland with his victorious army behaving with the revolting cruelty that earned for him the nickname of the "Butcher." He shot more than two hundred prisoners in cold blood, and he ravaged the country mercilessly.



Prince Charles in Hiding.

The government, in their dealing with the defeated Jacobites, followed the example thus set. They offered a reward of £30,000 for the head of the unfortunate prince; but his loyal Highlanders kept him safe until he escaped to France in September. His followers, small and great, suffered for their share in the rising. The Earl of Kilmarnock and Lords Balmerino and Lovat were beheaded, and numbers of less distinguished prisoners were hanged.

The suppression of the "Forty-five" brought about a great change in the Highlands of Scotland. Not only were Highlanders forbidden to carry arms, but they were also prevented from wearing their national dress. The old authority of the chiefs over their clans was removed, and George II. did what James VI. had wished to do—he abolished the jurisdictions which Highland chiefs had handed down from father to son, and replaced them by the powers which sheriffs and sheriff-substitutes now possess in Scotland. This was a change for the better, and in course of time the government restored many of the forfeited estates to their owners, allowed the Highlanders to wear their national dress, and enlisted Highlanders to fight in the British army as loyal subjects of the House of Hanover.





It was long before the bad feeling between England and Scotland disappeared, and English histories tell how unpopular Scotsmen were in England during the ministry of the Earl of Bute, at the beginning of the reign of George III. But this bitterness gradually passed away, and Scotland and England became united in sympathy and in interests, joining together in the effort to increase the dominions of the British crown and to preserve Europe from the domination of the great Napoleon.

During these years, and for some time after the fall of Napoleon, Scotland and England were alike much perplexed about the great question of parliamentary reform. The Revolution had resulted in the fall of the absolute monarchy, and in the rule of an aristocratic Parliament which did not really represent the nation. As time went on, and trade and commerce brought about the rise of great cities, there began to be a demand for further change. At first it seemed as if the reform of the parliamentary constitution would come about quickly and easily. The great minister who ruled Scotland for nearly thirty years of the reign of George III., Henry Dundas (Lord Melville), gave his sympathy and support to the reformers, and about this time (1775) one great improvement was made in the condition of a part of the popula-

tion. Colliers in Scotland were still almost slaves ; they could not leave the mine in which they worked, and when parents brought a child to work in a mine, that child was bound to work in it for life. The condition of these unfortunate people was improved in 1775. Soon after, efforts were made to give legal rights to Roman Catholics. Unfortunately the proposal caused so many anti-Catholic riots that it was clear the times were not yet ripe for toleration.

Dundas did not long remain an advocate of parliamentary reform, and when the French Revolution broke out, he, like his great leader, the younger Pitt, was so much alarmed by attacks upon property that he came to regard all advocates of reform as revolutionaries who must be suppressed at all costs. There was some ground for alarm, for many of the extreme reformers used strong and unwise language, and even talked sedition ; but the government treated them too seriously. In 1793 a charge of sedition was brought against Thomas Muir, who, though his own political views would not now be thought dangerous, had been in communication with French revolutionaries and with Irish rebels. The judge, Lord Braxfield, was unduly severe upon the prisoner, and he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, and sent to Botany Bay, whence he

escaped and died in France in 1798. "Transportation," wrote a contemporary who afterwards himself became a Scottish judge, "was not then, nor at any time, used in England as a punishment for sedition. It implied a frightful voyage of many months, great wretchedness in the new colony, an almost complete extinction of all communication with home, and such difficulty in returning that a man transported was considered as a man never to be seen again." There were other prisoners besides Muir, and they were all sentenced to transportation for their first offence. These judges did not mean to be cruel or unjust, but they were terrified into doing unjust things.

It was not until after the close of the great French war that parliamentary reform again came to be supported by moderate people, and even at that date we read of riots and fresh trials for sedition. But by 1830 Scotland was, as a whole, strongly in favour of reform, and with good reason, for in its population of about 2,300,000 there were only some 3,000 voters. The great city of Glasgow, which then contained 150,000 people, did not have a member of its own to represent it. At last, in July 1832, the long struggle was over, and the news of the passing of the Reform Act caused great rejoicings in Scotland. Parliamentary reform was followed

immediately by a reform in the old and corrupt government of Scottish burghs. In England an Education Act was one of the necessities of the time, but the system of Scottish education was already so good that no such measure was needed. Far back in the Middle Ages the Scottish Parliament had passed Education Acts, and after the Reformation Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike had supported the creation of the parochial schools, which did so much for Scotland. Financial aid was given by Parliament after the Reform Act, but it was not until 1872 that the old system of parochial schools was abolished, and education in Scotland brought directly under state control.



A REFORM BILL MEETING.



## Chapter XIX.

### THE CHURCH SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

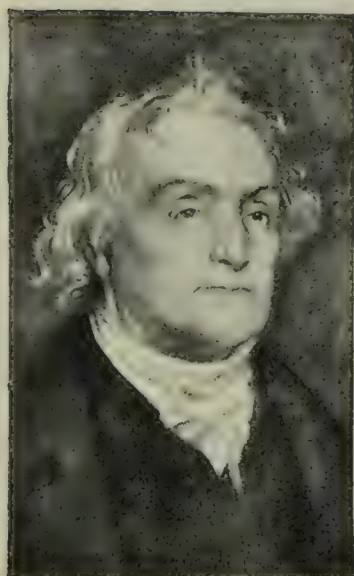
AFTER the Revolution, as we have seen, the Episcopal Church was again disestablished, and the Presbyterian Church once again established. A considerable number of clergy were expelled from their livings, and the survivors of those who had been expelled in 1662 were, as far as possible, restored. In some parts of the country, and especially in the south-west, the Episcopalian ministers received rough treatment, and in others the Presbyterians had great difficulty in persuading the people to accept the new settlement. In fact, forty years had to elapse before some portions of the West Highlands were really under Presbyterian government. William III. (his Scottish title was William II.) insisted upon granting toleration to all Episcopalians who would take the oath to him as king; and even some of the clergy were allowed to keep their livings, though not to share in the government of the church.

The re-established church was maintained by

the Act of Union, and it was promised that there should be no change in its constitution. This promise was not kept, for in 1711 the British Parliament passed an Act restoring lay patronage. Since the Revolution the right of appointing ministers had belonged to the congregations, instead of, as formerly, to a landowner in the parish or some other person, generally a layman. Parliament now restored the right of patronage to those who had possessed it before 1690, and this led to a long series of disputes in the church. In some ways it also changed the character of the clergy, and led to the appointment of the men who came to be known as "Moderates," many of whom gained distinction in literature, as the Episcopalian clergy had done in the seventeenth century. After the accession of George I. the Episcopalian clergy suffered considerable persecution, mainly because they refused to acknowledge the House of Hanover and remained loyal to the Stewarts.

At the time of the Revolution the extreme Presbyterians refused to join the Church of Scotland, on the ground that they believed that the Establishment had given up the old claim of Melville to be independent of the state, and that its ministers were as bad as those who accepted the Indulgence under Charles II. There was thus, from the very beginning, a body of Presby-

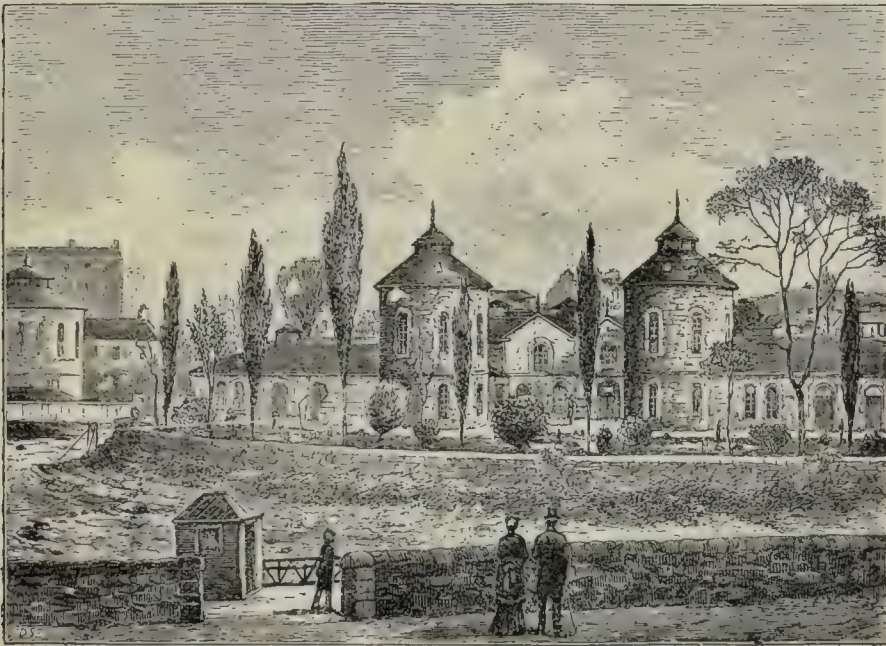
terians who remained outside the church, and in the course of the eighteenth century there was a series of secessions from the church. Some of these secessions were connected with the question of the relations between church and state, and others with disputes about theology.



*Dr. Chalmers.*

The most important event in the history of the church belongs to the nineteenth century. Disputes about appointments to parishes were frequent, and the "Evangelicals," who were the opponents of the "Moderates," had largely increased in numbers. The Evangelical party, under its great leader, Dr. Chalmers, a man of noble character and real genius, held strongly the old Melvillian principle of the independence of the church from state control. In the General Assembly of 1834 an Evangelical majority passed the Veto Act, which seriously modified the parliamentary statute about patronage. The church now ordered that if more than half of a congregation objected, for any reason, to the minister appointed by the patron, the presbytery should refuse to induct him. The working of the Veto Act led to disputes in which the Court of Session ordered the church courts to

obey it, and the church courts refused to do so. Vain attempts were made at conciliation, and at the General Assembly of 1843 Dr. Chalmers, and about four hundred and fifty ministers who followed him, left the Church of Scotland and founded the Free Church, holding that while there ought to



TANFIELD HALL, EDINBURGH, IN WHICH THE FREE CHURCH  
WAS CONSTITUTED.

be an Established Church, the state had too much authority over the existing Establishment.

Some seventy years have passed since this great event, which is known in Scottish history as the Disruption, and we are now able to recognize



that both those who left the Establishment and those who remained within it acted in accordance with their conscience and from high motives. This is not the place to discuss the rights and wrongs of the controversy, or to estimate the effect of the Disruption upon the religious and moral condition of Scotland. As years passed on there began to arise a tendency towards friendship and even reunion. The Patronage Act, which caused many of the difficulties, was repealed by Parliament in 1874. The Free Church amalgamated in 1900 with the United Presbyterian Church, which had been founded in 1847 by the union of a number of bodies which had previously seceded from the Church of Scotland. A small section of the Free Church refused to enter into the new United Free Church, and remained apart as the original Free Church, claiming that they were the sole possessors of all the property of that church as she existed up to 1900. The case was taken to the courts of law, and the final decision was given by the House of Lords in August 1904. It admitted the claim of the portion of the Free Church which had remained outside the union, and this small body, consisting mainly of Highland ministers, were thus entrusted with the management of a great property and of numerous churches and manses in districts where they had no supporters.

The government recognized that the law was not just, and that, if the legal judgment was allowed to be the final decision of the case, grave dangers would arise. It is one of the advantages of the



UNITED FREE CHURCH ASSEMBLY HALL, EDINBURGH.

British Constitution that there are no limits to the power of Parliament, and no laws which cannot be changed by Parliament. The government did not change the law in this case, but by the supreme power of Parliament a commission was

appointed to investigate the whole subject, and to divide the property between the Free Church and the United Free Church as the commissioners thought right and just.

To-day there is a strong feeling in favour of a union between the two great Presbyterian churches which remain in Scotland. There are difficulties in the way of a union, but whether they are overcome or not, the discussions in the Assemblies of 1912 will tend to foster a more friendly spirit in the churches in Scotland, and to draw attention to the points in which they are agreed, rather than those on which they differ. Since 1829 the law, in Scotland and England alike, has given toleration to all forms of religion, and men are learning more and more to understand and to tolerate differences of opinion, both small and great.

## Appendix.

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS.

B.C.	Scotland.	B.C.	England and Abroad.
		55	<b>First Raid of Julius Cæsar.</b> The Romans landed near Deal, and spent some eighteen days in Britain in fierce warfare.
		54	<b>Second Raid of Julius Cæsar.</b> On this occasion the Romans spent two months in Britain and received the submission of many tribes, but no permanent results followed from Cæsar's invasions. [Nearly a century passed before the Romans returned to Britain.]
		A.D. 43	<b>Roman Conquest of South Britain began.</b> London founded.
		51	Caradoc (Caractacus) a prisoner in Rome.
A.D. 82– 86	<b>Agricola invaded Scotland.</b> <b>Battle of Mons Graupius.</b> <b>A chain of forts built</b> between the Forth and the Clyde.	78– 86	<b>Agricola</b> governor of Britain—Roman rule extended to the north of England — York founded.
120	Romans withdraw from the south of Scotland.	120	Visit of the Emperor Hadrian. Hadrian's Wall built between the Solway and the Tyne.
140	Scotland re-occupied by the Romans up to the Forth and Clyde.		
208	<b>Antonine's Wall built.</b> Severus invaded Caledonia.	208	Visit of the Emperor Severus.



A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
		410	<b>Britain abandoned by the Romans</b> —Rome sacked by the Goths.
		449	Landing of the Jutes under Hengest and Horsa.
		481	Landing of the Angles.
		491	Saxons established in Sussex.
500	<b>Coming of the Scots</b> from Ireland.		
547	<b>Anglian Kingdom of Bernicia</b> established between the Tees and the Forth.		
563	<b>Coming of Columba.</b>		
		590	Gregory I., Bishop of Rome.
		600	<b>Christianity introduced into England.</b>
685	<b>Battle of Nectansmere</b> —Defeat of the Angles of Northumbria under Ecgrith.		
710	King Nectan's church reforms.		
761	Angus MacFergus king over Pictland, Dalriada, and Strathclyde.	787	<b>Danish invasions</b> begun.
794	Northmen ravaged the Western Isles.	793	Northumbria invaded by Danes.
844	<b>Kenneth MacAlpin king of the united Picts and Scots.</b>		
860	Donald, brother of Kenneth, king.	855	Vikings winter in Sheppey.
863	Constantin II. king.	869	"Danes" conquered East Anglia.
890	Harold (Fair hair) of Norway established Norse earldoms in Orkney and Shetland and in the Western Isles.	871	<b>Alfred the Great king.</b>
		878	Alfred's victory over the Danes at Ethandune.
900	Constantin III. king.	901	<b>Peace of Wedmore.</b>
937	Scots and Britons of Strathclyde, aiding the Angles of Northumbria, defeated at Brunanburh.	925	Edward the Elder king.
		937	Battle of Brunanburh.
942	Malcolm, son of Donald II., king.		
960	Edinburgh occupied by the Scots.	991	Danegeld levied in England.
		1013	<b>Danish Conquest</b> of England.

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1018	<b>Battle of Carham won by Malcolm II.; Lothian became part of Scotland.</b>	1016	<b>Cnut</b> king.
1034	Duncan I.		
1040	Macbeth.		
1057	<b>Malcolm Canmore.</b>	1066	<b>Landing of William the Conqueror</b> — Battle of Hastings (Senlac)—William crowned.
1068	Princess Margaret fled to Scotland.	1071	Conquest of England completed.
1070	Malcolm invaded England.	1096	First Crusade.
1072	William invaded Scotland; defeated Malcolm at Abernethy.		
1097	Edgar.		
1107	Alexander I.		
1124	David I.	1135	Stephen seized the English crown, which had been assigned to Matilda, daughter of Henry I.
1138	David invaded England to support his niece Matilda.		
	<b>Battle of the Standard.</b>		
1139	Peace agreed on — Northumbria, north of the Tees, given to David.		
1153	Malcolm IV. ("the Maiden"), grandson of David, king.	1154	Henry II.
1157	Scottish border fixed at the Tweed.		
1165	William the Lion king.	1170	Murder of Becket.
1174	William invaded England—Taken prisoner at Alnwick.	1171	Henry's invasion of Ireland —Leinster becomes English.
1175	<b>Treaty of Falaise.</b>		
	William did homage to the English king in return for his freedom—Scotland a vassal kingdom for fifteen years.	1188	Third Crusade.
1189	<b>Scottish Independence restored</b> for a payment of 10,000 marks.	1189	<b>Richard I.</b> — Restored Scottish independence.
		1199	John.
1214	Alexander II., son of William.	1204	England lost her French possessions.
1249	Alexander III.	1215	<b>Magna Charta granted by John.</b>
		1216	Henry III.
1263	Norse invasion under Haco of Norway—Battle of Largs.		
1266	Western Isles surrendered by Norway.	1272	Edward I.

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1286	Death of Alexander.	1277	Conquest of Wales begun.
1290	Treaty of Brigham—Young Prince of Wales to marry the Maid of Norway.		
	<b>Death of the Maid of Norway.</b>		
1291	Claimants to the crown acknowledged Edward of England as overlord.	1291	Edward summoned to Norham the claimants to the Scottish crown.
1292	John Baliol did homage to Edward.		
1295	<b>First treaty with France</b> —Scots inroads into England.		
1296	Capture of Berwick by Edward, and massacre of people.		
	Baliol dethroned.		
1297	<b>Rising under Sir William Wallace</b> —Battle of Stirling Bridge.		
1298	English invasion—Battle of Falkirk.		
1305	Capture and execution of Wallace.		
1306	<b>Robert Bruce crowned</b> —Defeated at Methven, and forced to hide.		
1307	Battle of Loudon Hill.		
1310	<b>Bruce acknowledged king by the Scottish clergy.</b>	1307	Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands while leading an army against Scotland. Edward II. abandoned the Scottish expedition.
1314	<b>Battle of Bannockburn.</b>	1316	Edward Bruce in Ireland, fighting against the English—Crowned King of Ulster.
1323	Truce with England.		
1328	<b>Independence of Scotland acknowledged</b> by the Treaty of Northampton.	1327	Edward II. dethroned and murdered. Edward III.
1329	Death of Bruce—David II.		
1332	Edward Baliol invaded Scotland with an English army, defeated Scots at Dupplin Moor, and was crowned as a vassal king—Driven out three months later.		

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1333	Invasion by Edward III. of England—Scots defeated at Halidon Hill—Baliol restored.		
1334	David and his queen sent to France for safety.	1337	<b>Edward III. claimed the crown of France</b> —Beginning of the Hundred Years' War.
1346	David invaded England as ally of France—Defeated and captured at Neville's Cross.	1346	Battle of Crécy.
1356	Lowlands invaded by Edward—("Burned Candlemas").	1356	Battle of Poitiers.
1357	David's freedom purchased from England.	1360	Peace of Bretigny.
1371	<b>Accession of the Stewart line</b> —Robert II.	1377	Richard II.
1385	Scottish raids with French allies—Invasion under Richard II.	1384	Death of Wycliffe.
1388	Otterburn.		
1390	Robert III.	1395	Lollards prominent.
1396	Fight on North Inch of Perth.	1399	Henry IV. (Lancaster).
1402	Invasion of England—Defeat at Homildon Hill.	1401	<b>Persecution of the Lollards.</b>
	Death of David, Duke of Albany.		
1406	Prince James captured by the English. Death of King Robert—Albany regent for King James I.		
1407	<b>First Heretic burned at Perth.</b>		
1411	Donald, Lord of the Isles, defeated at Harlaw.	1413	Henry V.
	<b>St. Andrews University founded.</b>	1415	<b>Henry claimed the French crown</b> —Battle of Agincourt.
1420	Death of the Duke of Albany—Murdoch succeeded as regent.	1420	Treaty of Troyes.
1424	King James set free.	1421	Scots, allies of France, defeated the English at Baugé.
1425	Execution of Albany and others.	1422	Henry VI.
1427	Parliament at Inverness.	1429	Joan of Arc raised the siege of Orleans.
1437	Murder of James at Perth. James II.	1440	<b>Invention of printing with movable types.</b>
1440	Douglasses beheaded at Edinburgh.		



A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1451	<b>Glasgow University founded.</b>		
1452	Murder of William, Earl of Douglas, at Stirling.	1453	<b>Constantinople taken by the Turks.</b>
1455	Douglas country subdued by James.	1455	War of the Roses begun.
1456	James invaded England in support of Lancastrians.		
1460	Siege of Roxburgh Castle—Death of James.	1461	Edward IV.
	James III.—Bishop Kennedy regent.		
1465	Death of Kennedy.		
1469	James married Margaret of Denmark—Orkney and Shetland handed over to Scotland in pledge for payment of her dowry.		
1472	Orkney earldom annexed to Scottish crown.	1476	<b>Caxton's printing press set up</b> at Westminster.
	<b>St. Andrews made an archbishopric</b> , the metropolitan see of Scotland.		
1482	War with England—Albany aimed at the crown in league with Edward IV.—Lauder Bridge.	1483	Edward V. Richard III.
1484	Defeat of Albany and exiled Earl of Douglas at Lochmaben.	1485	Richard defeated and slain. End of the War of the Roses.
1488	Revolt of the nobles—Battle of Sauchieburn—Murder of the king.		Henry VII.
	James IV.		
1489	Sir Andrew Wood defeated five English ships in the Firth of Forth.		
1494	Trial of the Lollards of Kyle.	1492	Appearance of Perkin Warbeck, pretended Duke of York.
1495	<b>Aberdeen University founded.</b>		<b>Columbus discovered the West Indies.</b>
1496	James invaded England in support of Perkin Warbeck.		
1503	<b>Marriage of James to the English princess, Margaret Tudor.</b> "The Union of the Thistle and the Rose."		
1504	Revolt of Donald, Lord of the Isles, suppressed.		
1507	<b>First printing press in Scotland.</b>	1509	Henry VIII.
1511	Sir Andrew Barton killed in battle with English ships.	1511	Holy League formed against France.

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1513	James invaded England to support France against the Holy League. <b>Flodden.</b> James V.	1517	<b>Luther began the Reformation struggle in Germany.</b>
1528	<b>Patrick Hamilton</b> burned at St. Andrews as a heretic.		
1532	The College of Justice (Court of Session) founded.	1535	Henry became "Supreme Head of the Church of England."
1537	James married Madeleine of France.		
1538	James married Mary of Guise.		
1542	Quarrels with England led to war— Defeat of Solway Moss. Death of the King. <b>Mary Queen of Scots.</b>		
1543	Treaty for marriage of Mary to Edward, Prince of Wales, repudiated by Parliament.		
1544	Hertford's invasion.		
1546	George Wishart burned at St. Andrews.	1547	Edward VI.
	Murder of Cardinal Beaton—Castle taken by Reformers.		
1547	Invasion by Somerset (Hertford) to enforce the marriage scheme— Battle of Pinkie. St. Andrews Castle taken by French— John Knox a prisoner.		
1548	Queen Mary sent to France for safety.	1553	Mary I.
1554	Mary of Guise regent.		
1555	John Knox returned to Scotland.		
1557	<b>The "Congregation" formed by the Protestant party.</b>		
1558	Walter Mill burned at St. Andrews.	1558	Calais captured by the French. <b>Elizabeth.</b>
1559	Riot at Perth against the Roman Catholics.		
1560	Death of Mary of Guise, the queen regent. Parliament established the Protestant Church. <b>First General Assembly held at Glasgow.</b>		
1561	Queen Mary returned to Scotland.		
1565	Marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Darnley.		

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1566	Murder of Rizzio at Holyrood. Birth of James (afterwards James VI.).		
1567	Murder of Darnley (Feb. 9) at Kirk of Field—Marriage of Mary to the Earl of Bothwell (May 15)—Rising of nobles—Carberry Hill—Mary imprisoned in Lochleven Castle and forced to abdicate. <b>James VI.</b>		
1568	Escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven—Defeated by Regent Murray at Langside—Flight to England.	1568	Mary Queen of Scots a prisoner in England (for nearly nineteen years).
1570	Regent Murray murdered—Lennox and afterwards Mar succeeded to the regency.		
1572	Morton regent—Suppression of the "queen's party"—Death of John Knox.	1572	Massacre of St. Bartholomew in France.
1578	Morton resigned—Esmé Stewart (made Earl of Lennox) and James Stewart (Earl of Arran) in power.		
1581	Morton executed for his share in the murder of Darnley—Presbyterian system of church government established by Andrew Melville.		
1582	"Raid of Ruthven"—Earl of Gowrie kept the young king a prisoner.	1583	Newfoundland colonized by Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
1583	Escape of James—His personal rule begun.	1585	Colony established in Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh.
1584	Execution of Gowrie—Parliament passed the "Black Acts," introducing Episcopacy into the Church.	1587	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
		1588	<b>Defeat of the Armada.</b>
1592	<b>Presbyterianism restored by Parliament.</b>		
1597	<b>Bishops restored</b> , with seats in Parliament.		
1600	Gowrie conspiracy.		
1603	<b>James succeeded to the English throne and became the first king of Great Britain.</b>	1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth (aged 70).

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1612	Parliament passed an act for the regular appointment of bishops in the Scottish Church.	1604 1605 1611	Hampton Court Conference. Gunpowder Plot. "Plantation" of Ulster.
1617	James visited Scotland, and introduced English customs into the Church services at Holyrood.	1616	Death of Shakespeare.
1618	General Assembly at Perth passed the "Five Articles," introducing English ritual.	1620	<b>"Pilgrim Fathers" founded New England.</b>
1621	Parliament ratified the Act of Assembly in spite of strong opposition to the "Five Articles."	1621 1625 1628 1629	Nova Scotia founded. Charles I. <b>The Petition of Right.</b> Charles ruled without a Parliament for eleven years.
1625	Charles I.	1629	"Ship-money" levied.
1633	Charles crowned at Holyrood.	1634	
1637	Laud's prayer-book used—Riot in St. Giles's.		
1638	<b>The National Covenant signed</b> —General Assembly at Glasgow refused to dissolve at the order of the king's commissioner, and annulled all Acts of Assembly since 1605.		
1639	The First Bishops' War—General Alexander Leslie met the king's army at Berwick—A Free Parliament and a Free Assembly promised.		
1640	Second Bishops' War—Scots seized Newcastle—The king agreed to their terms.	1640	<b>The Long Parliament met</b> —Laud and Strafford impeached.
1641	Charles visited Scotland, and agreed to the abolition of Episcopacy.	1642	<b>Civil war begun.</b>
1643	<b>Solemn League and Covenant</b> adopted by the General Assembly at Edinburgh and the Scottish Estates.	1643	<b>Solemn League and Covenant</b> signed by the English Parliament—Assembly of English and Scottish divines at Westminster drew up the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms.
1644	Scottish army under the Earl of Leven (Alexander Leslie) entered England to aid the Parliamentary party—Earl of Montrose, for the king, won several victories in Scotland.	1644	Battle of Marston Moor.



A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1645	Montrose defeated by David Leslie at Philiphaugh.	1645	<b>Defeat of the Royalists at Naseby.</b>
		1646	Charles surrendered to the Scots at Newark and was handed over to the Parliamentary party—Captured by Cromwell.
1648	Duke of Hamilton entered England to support the king, and was defeated at Preston.		
1649	<b>Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland.</b>	1649	<b>Trial and Execution of Charles.</b>
1650	Charles arrived from Holland and signed the Covenant—Scottish Royalist army defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar.		The Commonwealth established in England.
1651	Charles crowned at Scone (Jan. 1) and invaded England. <b>Scotland under the power of the Commonwealth</b> —General Assembly suppressed—Scottish and English Parliaments united—Free trade established—Scottish law courts abolished.	1651	Scots defeated by Cromwell at Worcester (3rd Sept.)—Charles escaped to France.
		1652	Ireland subdued by Cromwell.
		1653	Cromwell made Lord Protector.
		1658	Death of Cromwell—Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector.
		1659	Richard Cromwell resigned—Monk and the army proclaimed for a "Free Parliament"—The Long Parliament dissolved itself.
1660	<b>The Restoration</b> welcomed in Scotland.	1660	Convention Parliament met and invited Charles II. to return.
1661	Recent legislation repealed (union with England, free trade, etc.)—Marquis of Argyll executed—Episcopacy introduced—James Sharp made Archbishop of St. Andrews.	1664	<b>The Restoration.</b> New York seized by the English.
1666	<b>Rising of Covenanters</b> —Rullion Green.	1665	The Plague.
1667	Lauderdale commissioner.	1666	The Great Fire of London.
1670	Conventicles forbidden by law.	1670	Hudson's Bay Company formed.

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1677	A Highland army quartered upon the Covenanters of the West.		
1679	Archbishop Sharp murdered on Magus Moor (3rd May)—Graham of Claverhouse defeated by the Covenanters at <b>Drumclog</b> (11th June)—Covenanters defeated at <b>Bothwell Bridge</b> by the Duke of Monmouth and Claverhouse (22nd June).	1679	Exclusion Bill introduced to prevent the accession of the Duke of York. <b>Habeas Corpus Act passed.</b>
1680	Duke of York appointed in Lauderdale's place. Richard Cameron renounced his allegiance to the king at Sanguhar—Killed in battle at Aird's Moss.	1681	Parliament dissolved over the Exclusion Bill—No Parliament during the remainder of the reign.
1685	Accession of James VII. and II.—Argyll's rebellion in favour of the Duke of Monmouth suppressed—Argyll captured and executed.	1685	Death of Charles II.—Duke of York succeeded as James II.—Monmouth's rebellion.
		1687	First Declaration of Indulgence.
1688	Execution of James Renwick, the last victim of the persecution of the Covenanters. <b>The Revolution</b> accepted with joy in Scotland.	1688	Second Declaration of Indulgence—Trial of the Bishops—William of Orange landed at Tor Bay—Flight of James—The Revolution.
1689	Convention Parliament met—Their terms accepted by William and Mary—Episcopacy abolished. The old Royalist (Jacobite) party, led by Viscount Dundee (Graham of Claverhouse), defeated the government troops at Killiecrankie.	1689	James, the dethroned king, in Ireland—Siege of Londonderry.
1690	Parliament sanctioned the Westminster Confession of Faith.	1690	Battle of the Boyne—James fled to France.
1691	Proclamation requiring Highland chiefs to take the oath of allegiance.		
1692	<b>Massacre of Glencoe.</b>	1693	National Debt founded.
		1694	Bank of England established.
1695	Darien Scheme adopted by Parliament.		Death of Queen Mary.

A.D.	Scotland.	A.D.	England and Abroad.
1700	Final failure of the Darien Scheme.	1701	<b>Act of Settlement.</b>
1702	Accession of Queen Anne.	1702	Death of William III. Queen Anne. <b>War of the Spanish Succession.</b>
1703	Act of Security passed, refusing to accept the English settlement of the succession to the throne except upon certain conditions.	1705	Commissioners appointed to negotiate a Treaty of Union with Scotland.
1707	<b>Treaty of Union adopted by Parliament</b> (16th January).	1707	<b>Treaty of Union</b> passed by Parliament, and received the Royal assent (6th March).
1711	Lay patronage restored in the Church.	1713	Treaty of Utrecht.
1714	George I.	1714	Death of Queen Anne—Accession of George I.
1715	<b>First Jacobite Rebellion</b> —Battle of Sheriffmuir.	1715	Jacobite rising in the north—Derwentwater and Forster defeated near Preston.
		1720	The South Sea Bubble—Walpole Prime Minister (for twenty years.)
1727	George II.	1727	George II.
1736	The Porteous Riots.	1740	War of the Austrian Succession.
1745	<b>Second Jacobite Rebellion</b> under Prince Charles Edward Stewart—Battle of Prestonpans.	1745	Prince Charles Edward entered England—Retreat from Derby.
1746	Retreat of Charles Edward—Victory at Falkirk—Final defeat at Culloden Moor (16th April).		









